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LUTHER ON
LIFE WITHOUT DICHOTOMY

James Edward McGoldrick

The doctrine of the priesthood of all believers was a fundamental belief of all the Protestant Reformers of the 16th century, but none gave it greater emphasis than Martin Luther. The great German father of the Reformation regarded this doctrine as the basis for a proper understanding of the Christian life. His teaching on this subject stressed the wholeness of the believer's life as a priest before God regardless of his occupation. Luther believed that this doctrine demolished the sacred/secular dichotomy of the medieval church, a false dichotomy which undermined the entire biblical teaching about salvation and its implications for the Christian in the discharge of his social responsibilities. The true Christian life, in Luther's understanding, is the life of service rendered eagerly to one's neighbors, for true faith is always active in love.

* * *

WRITING to Christians in the first century, the Apostle Peter admonished them to recognize that they composed "a spiritual house, . . . a holy priesthood, offering sacrifices acceptable to God through Jesus Christ." Believers, Peter said, "are a chosen people, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, a people belonging to God, that [they] may declare the praises of him who has called [them] out of darkness into his wonderful light" (1 Pet 2:5, 9 NIV).

The doctrine of the priesthood of all believers to which Peter referred is an indispensable distinctive of biblical faith, and without it true Christianity cannot endure. The church was, however, still in its infancy when professional priests rose to prominence and assumed the role of necessary mediators between God and men. A sharp cleavage consequently developed between the clergy and the laity, and Christians were instructed to regard the priests and monks as members of a *sacred* estate and to view themselves as the *secular* estate. Medieval teaching depicted the church as a ship sailing toward heaven with priests and monks aboard. Laymen had to swim or be towed by ropes attached to the ship. Many people, of course, drowned in a vain effort to pursue the vessel of salvation. In the medieval view *secular*

occupations were regarded as spiritually inferior to the *sacred calling* of the priesthood. Laymen were taught to depend upon the clergymen as those who dispensed saving and sanctifying graces of which the institutional church was the fountain.[1]

In the Middle Ages the Christian life was construed in terms of a sacred/secular dichotomy, and salvation was believed to be a reward for good works made possible by an infused grace which was imparted principally by the sacraments. Human merit became the central concern in soteriology, and the monastery was viewed as the ideal place for the practice of Christian piety. The medieval conception of the Christian life was egocentric and sacerdotal. The Pauline declaration of freedom from the law (Rom 8:1–4) evidently was eclipsed by a rigorous legalism which imposed a type of spiritual bondage through the teaching of works-righteousness. This may have been the darkest feature of the so-called Dark Ages.

Although the wonderful light of the gospel was dimmed badly in the Middle Ages, it was not extinguished, and in the 16th century it burst forth again in all its radiant brilliance when God called Martin Luther into the service of the truth. Luther, himself a priest and monk, through patient exegesis of the scripture, learned the truth of justification through faith alone, a discovery which led him to renounce the sacred/secular dichotomy and to reclaim the NT teaching of the priesthood of all believers. Through faith, Luther found in the gospel the joy of Christian freedom experienced in a life without dichotomy.

As a believer liberated through faith in Christ, Luther never ceased to extol the unity and wholeness of the Christian priesthood. He contended that all of God's people belong to a single *sacred* estate in which all have equal access to the Father through Christ. Every form of honest toil performed for God's glory is therefore a divine calling. Luther spoke at times about a *weltlicher Beruf* (worldly calling), but he meant thereby a place in the world where one could fulfill his divinely ordained vocation. In Luther's understanding, one should serve gladly in the station where God has placed him, and that is to be determined mainly by the gifts of providence. To some God has granted the gifts for the gospel ministry; to others he has imparted talents for ruling principalities, mending shoes, or raising potatoes.

In a letter of 1520 addressed to the princes of Germany Luther called upon the rulers to exercise their Christian priesthood by leading the reform of church and society. In this treatise the great reformer

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[1]See the excellent article by Otto Pfleiderer, "Luther as Founder of Protestant Morals," *Lutheran Quarterly* 18 (1888) 31–53.

expressed abhorrence for the dichotomous view of the Christian life
in which he had been schooled.

> It is pure invention that pope, bishops, priests and monks are called the
> *spiritual* estate, while princes, lords, artisans, and farmers are called the
> *temporal* estate. This is indeed a piece of deceit and hypocrisy. Yet no
> one need be intimidated by it, and for this reason: all Christians are
> truly of the spiritual estate, and there is no difference among them
> except that of office.[2]

> It follows from this argument that there is no true, basic difference
> between laymen and priests, princes and bishops, between religious and
> secular, except for the sake of office and work, but not for the sake of
> status. They are all of the spiritual estate, and are truly priests, bishops,
> and popes. . . . We are all one body of Christ the Head, and all
> members one of another. Christ does not have two different bodies,
> one temporal, and the other spiritual. There is but one Head and one
> body.[3]

In arguing that all Christians are members of the spiritual estate
and discharge a sacred calling, Luther recognized no distinctive call
to the ministry as opposed to a call to any other vocation. He believed
that God works through men, so the church could appraise one's gifts
and extend the call to preach accordingly.[4] Contrary to the medieval
view, which extolled the monastic life as the highest calling, Luther
affirmed the sacredness of every station in life as a place where
Christians may exercise their gifts in the ministry of their priesthood.

The medieval Catholic view of the Christian life stressed renun-
ciation of the world and its pleasures as the most meritorious en-
deavor possible. Luther, however, espoused a joyous affirmation of
life lived in society. He regarded the created world as the proper place
for the practice of godliness, because the Christian is a subject (citizen)
of two kingdoms, and to each kingdom he has responsibilities. He
should not withdraw from the kingdom of earth in order to seek the
kingdom of heaven, for the Christian life is one of service to be
rendered here and now in Jesus' name.

[2]Martin Luther, "To the Christian Nobility of the German Nation Concerning the
Reform of the Christian Estate," tr. C. M. Jacobs, rev. James Atkinson, *Luther's
Works*, 44 (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1966) 127.

[3]Ibid., 129–30.

[4]The implication of Luther's teaching should be clear—no profession or occupa-
tion is more "reverend" than another. The godly farmer is just as reverend as the
clergyman. There should therefore be no talk about "full-time Christian service." It is
significant that the reformers placed far less emphasis on the rite of clerical ordination
than is the case today. Neither Philip Melanchthon nor John Calvin was formally
ordained. This is, of course, not an argument against ordination as such, but it does
reflect the reformers' position on the priesthood.

Luther taught that all true Christians have been called into the kingdom of heaven by saving grace, and all are equal in that kingdom. It is a kingdom of *receiving* the benevolence of the King. The kingdom of earth, on the other hand, is a state of social (but not spiritual) inequalities. In this kingdom the Christian lives for *giving* by serving others.[5] As the Christian discharges the duties of his priesthood, he demonstrates a faith which is active in love. No station in life is intended for the exaltation of him who holds it. Even the prince, who enjoys authority to rule lands and peoples, should recognize that God has called him to serve those he governs, "for those who punish evil and protect the good, are God's servants and workmen."[6]

Although Luther regarded justification *sola fide* as the heart of the Christian faith and therefore emphasized the believer's relationship with God, it is evident that he had a keen sense of the Christian's social responsibility as well. He believed that God's saving grace sets one free from the penalty due to sin and from the legalism of works-righteousness which had kept people in bondage for so long. In his treatise *The Freedom of a Christian* (1520) Luther stated, "a Christian is a perfectly free lord of all, subject to none. A Christian is a perfectly dutiful servant of all, subject to all."[7]

At first glance the above propositions may appear to be irreconcilable, but Luther found them fully harmonious—correlative truths. He explained by citing the dictum of St. Paul, "though I am free and belong to no man, I make myself a slave to everyone" (1 Cor 9:19 NIV). Luther held that genuine Christian faith always produces love, for faith must be active in love. Faith ascends to God, and Christian love descends to one's neighbor and renders service to him as a fulfillment of the believer's calling. The Christian does not need to work for his salvation, as the Romanists contended, so he is free to invest his life in the service of his fellow men. In the ultimate sense, one can do nothing for God, for he is utterly self-sufficient. Man, however, who has been created in the image of God, is constantly in need of spiritual and material assistance. Let the saints then follow the example of Christ, who came to earth in both the form of God and the form of a servant (Phil 2:5–11).[8]

As Christ is priest and king, so his disciples are priests and kings (1 Pet 2:9). Luther exclaimed,

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[5]See Philip S. Watson, "Luther's Doctrine of Vocation," *SJT* 11 (1949) 364–77.

[6]Luther, "Temporal Authority, to What Extent It should be Obeyed," tr. J. J. Schindel, rev. W. I. Brandt, *Luther's Works*, 45 (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1962) 100.

[7]Luther, "The Freedom of a Christian," tr. W. A. Lambert, rev. Harold J. Grimm, *Luther's Works*, 31 (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg, 1957) 344.

[8]Ibid.

> Not only are we [Christians] the freest of kings, we are also priests
> forever, which is far more excellent than being kings, for as priests we
> are worthy to appear before God to pray for others and to teach one
> another divine things. . . . Christ has made it possible for us . . . to be
> not only his brethren, co-heirs, and fellow kings, but also his fellow
> priests.[9]

The believer's kingship and priesthood testify to his spiritual
freedom. "From this anyone can clearly see how a Christian is free
from all things and over all things, so that he needs no works to make
him righteous and save him, since faith alone . . . confers all these
things."[10] The faith which confers these benefits is a gift from God,
and those who receive it demonstrate its reality by good works. As
Luther stated it beautifully,

> Faith is truly active through love. That is, it finds expression in works
> of the freest service, cheerfully and lovingly done, with which a man
> willingly serves another without hope of reward; and for himself he is
> satisfied with the fulness and wealth of his faith.[11]

Good works performed in faith do not bring benefit to God or to
one's self. They bring benefits to one's neighbor. Although believers
and unbelievers may perform exactly the same outward deeds, the
works of the latter are not truly good. Unless one performs works
from a motive of sincere love for God, his works are not pleasing to
God despite the relative earthly benefits they may confer. For this
reason Luther scorned the monastic view of good works. The monks
declared their intention to imitate the example of Christ, and some of
them became renowned for their charity. Luther contended, neverthe-
less, that their works were not good because they were motivated by a
selfish desire for reward, and the monks trusted in their imitation of
Christ to save them. True morality is present only when one performs
good works lovingly and eagerly without regard for any personal gain
to be realized.[12] As Luther related, "our faith in Christ does not free
us from works but from false opinions concerning works, that is, from
the foolish presumption that justification is acquired by works."[13]

In the medieval church enormous emphasis was placed on the
meritorious character of celibacy, to which all clergymen were com-
mitted by vows. Although marriage was regarded as a sacrament and

[9]Ibid., 355.
[10]Ibid., 356.
[11]Ibid., 365.
[12]See Gustaf Wingren, "The Christian's Calling According to Luther," *Augustana
Quarterly* 21 (1942) 3–16; Martin J. Heinecken, "Luther and the 'Orders of Creation' in
Relation to a Doctrine of Work and Vocation," *Lutheran Quarterly* 4 (1952) 393–414.
[13]Luther, "Freedom of a Christian," 372–73.

therefore a means of grace, celibacy, which was not a sacrament, was considered a far superior spiritual state. Luther denied its sacramental character, but he extolled marriage as the ideal context in which believers may put faith to work in active love. He argued that God created man and woman for each other, and he assailed Rome for exalting celibacy over this divine institution. He lamented that canon law had contaminated what God had declared clean and holy. Luther regarded celibacy as unnatural. He complained that the "papal rabble, priests, monks, and nuns resist God's . . . commandment when they despise . . . marriage and vow that they will maintain perpetual chastity while they deceive the common people with lying words and wrong impressions."[14] In praising marriage Luther said that it excels all positions of earthly honor. "It is not an estate to be placed on a level with the others; it precedes and surpasses them all, whether those of emperor, princes, bishops, or anyone else."[15]

In hailing marriage as an excellent relationship in which faith may be active in love, Luther contended that even menial tasks are good works pleasing to God when performed in faith. Speaking about a godly husband, he wrote, "cutting wood or heating a room is just as holy for him as praying . . . is for a monk, for all works of a pious man are good because of the Holy Spirit and his faith."[16] The same is true of a devout wife and mother. Tending to the needs of crying children, washing diapers, and making beds are forms of Christian service which no one should denigrate.[17] So fervent was Luther in advocating marriage that he branded the Roman stress on celibacy a mark of Anti-Christ.[18] Luther then directed people away from monasteries populated by celibates to the Christian home where father, mother, and children served God through serving one another and therefore enjoyed life without dichotomy.

One reason why Luther found monasticism so distasteful was because it encouraged the belief that begging was an especially pious expression of Christian humility. During the Middle Ages beggars were very common, and the church admonished its members to give alms generously. Many people were poverty-stricken due to circumstances they could not control, and for such people Luther had a tender heart, and to them he gave lavishly. The monks, however, assumed poverty voluntarily because they regarded it as a means of

[14]Luther, The Sixth Commandment, *Large Catechism* in Book of Concord, ed. T. G. Tappert, *et. al.* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1952) 392.

[15]Ibid., 393.

[16]Quoted by William H. Lazareth, *Luther on the Christian Home* (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg, 1960) 146.

[17]*What Luther Says*, II, ed. E. M. Plass (St. Louis: Concordia, 1959) #2766.

[18]Ibid., #2779.

acquiring merit in heaven, a view which Luther came to abhor. The German reformer emphasized the dignity of work as a calling, a service of love for one's neighbors.

When the gifts of one's calling are employed faithfully in loving service the Christian performs works which are truly good. They please God, benefit one's neighbors, and give joy to those who do them.

> If this truth could be impressed upon the poor people, a servant girl would dance for joy and praise and thank God; and with her careful work, for which she receives sustenance and wages, she would gain a treasure such as all who pass for the greatest saints do not have.[19]

Such a servant girl would find satisfaction in her work, her work in the *sacred* estate, and she would experience the joy of life without dichotomy.

In Luther's understanding of the Christian life the believer's self-image as a servant is a fundamental motif. In the reformer's words, "a Christian lives not in himself but in Christ and in his neighbor. Otherwise he is not a Christian. He lives in Christ through faith, in his neighbor through love."[20]

To those who claimed to possess saving faith but failed to demonstrate an active concern for their neighbors' needs Luther issued a warning about the "illusion of faith." He insisted that emotional responses to the gospel are not necessarily evidences of genuine faith. Active love, expressing itself in good works, is the only reliable external index of faith. Such love, Luther held, would extend to sharing one's earthly goods with a neighbor in need. Just as Christ emptied himself when he left heaven to become man (Phil 2:5), believers should sacrifice their possessions for the benefit of those in need. When illness strikes Christians should aid the sick, even at the risk of contagion to themselves. Luther did so himself by remaining in Wittenberg to minister to the sick and dying during an epidemic of bubonic plague.[21]

In rejecting the sacred/secular, clergy/laity dichotomy of the medieval church Luther denied that the Christian life should be ascetic in character. He believed that God had created the world for his own glory, but also for the enjoyment of his people. Luther therefore encouraged Christians to engage in, for example, the visual and musical arts, and to enjoy the excitement of athletic contests. For

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[19]Luther, *Large Catechism*, 385.

[20]Luther, "Freedom of a Christian," 371.

[21]See the discussion of Luther's social ethics in Paul Althaus, *Theology of Martin Luther*, tr. R. C. Schultz (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1966) 294ff.

music he had a particular love, and his contribution to Christian
hymnody was immense.

Luther appreciated greatly the aesthetic value of music, so he did
not react against Catholic ceremonialism as strongly as did, for
example, Zwingli and Calvin. Luther believed that music is a gift
from God, an ideal means by which believers can express their loving
adoration. He found devotional music a weapon with which to fight
against temptation, and in order to promote Christian piety through
music he composed thirty-seven hymns, all in the German language
for use by entire congregations. No longer would Gregorian chants
sung in Latin by monastic choirs dominate the services of the church.
Worship became a corporate experience in the Reformation, and
bodies of the faithful joined in singing such Lutheran compositions as
"Jesus Christ Our God and Savior," "Lord, Keep us Steadfast in Thy
Love," "From Trouble Deep I Cry to Thee," and, of course, "A
Mighty Fortress is Our God." Luther said, "I place music next to
theology and give it the highest praise."[22]

In the late Middle Ages, as in modern times, the divine gift of
music was often employed for perverse uses, a practice which caused
Luther great dismay. His insight into the character and proper role of
music offers valuable guidance for the church in all ages.

> That it is good and pleasing to God to sing spiritual songs is, I think,
> not hidden to any Christian . . . . The kings and prophets of the Old
> Testament . . . praised God with singing and playing, with poetry and
> all kinds of string music. . . . St. Paul too instituted this in I Corinthians
> 14:15 and bids the Colossians (3:16) heartily to sing spiritual songs and
> psalms unto the Lord in order that thereby God's Word and Christian
> doctrine might be used and practiced in diverse ways . . . .

> I greatly desire that youth . . . be trained in music and other proper
> arts, . . . whereby it might be weaned from the love ballads and sex
> songs and learn something beneficial and take up the good with relish,
> as befits youth. Nor am I at all of the opinion that all the arts are to be
> overthrown by the Gospel, as some superspiritual people protest, but I
> would gladly see all the arts, especially music, in the service of Him
> who has given and created them.[23]

Contrary to Zwingli and Calvin, who feared that music might
distract people from giving attention to the sermon, Luther became
the father of the singing Protestant Church. Calvin eliminated all but
congregational singing of psalms in unison, and Zwingli forbade the
use of musical instruments in services of worship. Luther, however,

[22] *What Luther Says*, II, #3091.
[23] Ibid., #3095.

favored the use of instruments, and the German Lutheran Churches went on to excel all other Protestant bodies of the sixteenth century in the development of their hymnody. J. S. Bach is a fine example of Luther's enduring influence. Bach employed music as a vehicle by which to proclaim the great themes of Reformation theology by composing to correspond with the doctrines of Luther's catechisms. He was guided by biblical principles in both the words and the form of his music. Bach wrote, "all music [should] have as its sole aim the glory of God and the recreation of the soul. Where this rule is not observed there is no real music, but only a devilish blubbering and whining."[24]

Luther rejected the contention that the Christian life should be one of asceticism. He issued a ringing affirmation of God's good gifts, the enjoyment of which is a wholesome pleasure to be desired, and the Jesuits in the Counter-Reformation charged that more people had been damned by Luther's hymns than by his sermons and books.

From Luther the church has received a rich legacy in doctrine and practice. In the providence of God it was he who led the way to demolish the dichotomy which had kept people from harmony with God and fellowship with one another, and from enjoying the Christian life in its wholeness, a wholeness which is realized by those who, though they are kings and priests, find their deepest satisfaction in being servants.

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[24]Quoted by Paul Nettl, *Luther and Music* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1967) 149; *Luther's Works*, 53, ed. Ulrich S. Leupold (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1965) contains all of Luther's hymns with helpful editorial comments.

THE ANCIENT EXEGESIS OF
GENESIS 6:2, 4

ROBERT C. NEWMAN

The exegesis of Gen 6:2, 4 in ancient times is surveyed among extant sources, both Jewish and Christian. These interpretations are categorized as either "supernatural" or "nonsupernatural" depending upon the identification of the "sons of God." It is observed that the interpretation of "sons of God" as angels and "Nephilim" as giants dominates. This interpretation also seems to be that of the NT, almost certainly in Jude 6 and 2 Pet 2:4, and probably in 1 Cor 11:10 and Matt 22:30. Some suggestions regarding the source of this interpretation and its validity are made.

* * *

Now it came about, when men began to multiply on the face of the land, and daughters were born to them, that the sons of God saw that the daughters of men were beautiful; and they took wives for themselves, whomever they chose. Then the LORD said, "My Spirit shall not strive with men forever, because he also is flesh; nevertheless his days shall be one hundred and twenty years." The Nephilim were on earth in those days, and also afterward, when the sons of God came in to the daughters of men, and they bore children to them. Those were the mighty men who were of old, men of renown (Gen 6:1–4 *NASB*).

This passage has been a center of controversy for at least two millennia. The present form of the dispute is rather paradoxical. On the one hand, liberal theologians, who deny the miraculous, claim the account pictures a supernatural liason between divine beings and humans.[1] Conservative theologians, though believing implicitly in angels and demons, tend to deny the passage any such import.[2] The

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[1]E.g., A. Richardson, *Genesis 1–11* (London: SCM, 1953); E. A. Speiser, *Genesis* (AB; Garden City: Doubleday, 1964); B. Vawter, *On Genesis: A New Reading* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1977); G. von Rad, *Genesis: A Commentary* (rev. ed.; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1973).

[2]E.g., G. Ch. Aalders, *Genesis* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1981); H. G. Stigers, *A Commentary on Genesis* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1976); J. Murray, *Principles of Conduct* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1957) 243–49.

liberal position is more understandable with the realization that they
deny the historicity of the incident and see it as a borrowing from
pagan mythology. The rationale behind the conservative view is more
complex: though partially a reaction to liberalism, the view is older
than liberal theology. Moreover, the conservative camp is not unani-
mous in this interpretation; several expositors see supernatural liasons
here, but ones which really occurred.[3]

The concern in this article, however, is not to trace the history of
interpretation of this passage, nor (basically) to discuss modern argu-
ments for and against various views. Rather, the concern is to see
how it was understood in antiquity and (if possible) why it was so
understood.

Gen 6:1–4 seems to be something of an "erratic boulder" for all
interpreters, standing apart to some extent from its context. The
preceding chapter consists of a 32-verse genealogy extending from
Adam through his son Seth to Noah and his sons. God is mentioned
in three connections only: he creates man (5:1), walks with Enoch
(5:22, 24) and curses the ground (5:29). If we include the last two
verses of chapter 4, we pick up two more references: Seth is God's
replacement for Abel (4:25); and men begin to call upon the LORD at
the time of Enosh (4:26). Following our passage, the context leads
quickly into the flood, beginning with God's observation that both
man and beast must be wiped out because man's wickedness has
become very great.

From the passage and its context a number of questions arise. Who
are the "sons of God" mention in 6:2, 4? The phrase occurs nowhere
else in the context or even in Genesis. Who are the "daughters of
men"? This phrase at least seems to be related to v 1, where "men"
have "daughters" born to them. Why does the text say "sons of God"
and "daughters of men" rather than "sons of men" and "daughters of
God"? How is God's reaction in vv 3 and 5 related to all this? Are
these marriages the last straw in a series of sins leading to the flood or
not? Who are the "Nephilim" in v 4? Are they the offspring of the
sons of God and the daughters of men or not? Are they the "mighty
men" mentioned in the same verse? Is it *their* sin which brings on the
flood?

The scope of this article does not permit an investigation of all
these matters. We shall concentrate on two: the phrase בני האלהים,
usually translated "sons of God" (vv 2, 4) and the word נפלים, here
transliterated "Nephilim" (v 4). Though other matters are of interest

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[3]U. Cassuto, *A Commentary on the Book of Genesis: Part I: From Adam to
Noah, Gen 1–6*[8] (Jerusalem: Magnes and Hebrew University, 1961); H. M. Morris, *The
Genesis Record* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1976); W. A. Van Gemeren, "The Sons of God
in Genesis 6:1–4," *WTJ* 43 (1981) 320–48.

and will influence one's interpretation, these two seem to constitute an interpretive watershed.

For ease of discussion we shall divide the various interpretive schemes into two broad categories which we label "supernatural" and nonsupernatural" (this rather clumsy term being used to avoid the connotation of "proper" which "natural" would give). The super-natural category will include any views in which the sons of God are not human, and the nonsupernatural those in which they are human. Within each category we shall proceed more or less chronologically from the earliest extant examples to late antiquity, giving greater attention to earlier materials. The NT will be omitted from this preliminary survey, but we shall return to it later to see if it favors one of these interpretations. Thereafter we shall examine possible exegetical bases for the various views and seek to draw some conclusions regarding not only what was done in antiquity but how we should interpret the passage. We hope also to provide some general methodological suggestions.

THE SUPERNATURAL INTERPRETATION

Among extant materials interpreting Gen 6:2, 4, the supernatural view is older, though we cannot be sure in which work it appears first, the LXX or 1 Enoch.

LXX

The Old Greek version of the Pentateuch, traditionally known as the LXX, was probably produced in the middle of the 3rd century B.C.[4] Extant MSS of Genesis render בני האלהים variously as υἱοὶ τοῦ θεοῦ and ἄγγελοι τοῦ θεοῦ.[5] The latter alternative clearly moves the

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[4]J. W. Wevers, "Septuagint," *IDB* 4 (1962) 273; E. M. Blaiklock, "Septuagint," *ZPEB* 5 (1976) 343–44.

[5]See the relevant textual footnotes in A. Rahlfs, *Septuaginta* (7th ed.; Stuttgart: Wurttembergische Bibelanstalt, 1962) 8, and especially in J. W. Wevers, *Genesis* (Göttingen LXX: Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1974) 108. The variant ἄγγελοι is the minority reading among extant MSS and versions, but it is supported by many witnesses, including Codex Alexandrinus (4th century A.D.), as well as Philo and Josephus, both writing in the 1st century A.D. though extant only in much later MSS. These latter comment on the passage in such a way that their reading cannot be dismissed as a scribal error from later Christian copyists. υἱοί is the majority reading, for which the most important witnesses are papyrus 911 (3rd century A.D.) and Codex Coislinianus (7th century). The Göttingen LXX favors the latter reading since it is supported by all the MS groups, though none are as early as Philo and Josephus. Yet the influence of the MT on the transmission of the LXX might well explain υἱοί, even if ἄγγελοι were the original translation. It is therefore impossible to be certain whether ἄγγελοι was the original translation or an early midrashic corruption.

text in a supernatural direction, even though ἄγγελος sometimes
means a human messenger (e.g., Gen 32:3, 6). This variant is already
cited and discussed by Philo,[6] so apparently predates the 1st century
A.D. In Gen 6:4 נפלים is translated γίγαντες without textual variation.
The Greek word, usually rendered "giant," indicates a warrior of
large stature[7] and translates גבר in Gen 10:8, 9.

1 Enoch

Possibly older than the LXX is the book of *Enoch*, an apocalyptic
work of great diversity organized around revelations allegedly given
to the patriarch of this name. The particular material we are concerned
with is thought to be pre-Maccabean by Charles and from the early
2nd century B.C. by Eissfeldt. In any case, fragments from this part of
Enoch have been found at Qumran in a style of handwriting that
dates to the pre-Christian era.[8]

The first five chaps. of *Enoch* present a mostly poetic picture of
the coming of God to earth in judgment and what this will mean for
the wicked and the righteous. Chap. 6 begins:

> And it came to pass when the children of men had multiplied, in those
> days were born unto them beautiful and comely daughters. And the
> angels, the children of heaven, saw and lusted after them, and said to
> one another: 'Come, let us choose wives from among the children of
> men and beget us children.' (*1 Enoch* 6:1-2)

The account goes on (chaps. 6-8) to tell how two hundred angels
came down on Mt. Hermon, led by their chief Semjaza, took wives,
taught them science, magic and technology, and begot by them giants
over a mile high! Along with Semjaza, principal attention is given to
the angel Azazel, who taught mankind metallurgy for weapons and
jewelry.

The good angels report these things to God (chap. 9), who sends
Uriel to warn Noah of the coming flood, Gabriel to destroy the
giants, Raphael to take charge of Azazel, and Michael to deal with

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[6]Philo, *On the Giants* 6.

[7]H. G. Liddell, R. Scott and H. Drissler, *A Greek-English Lexicon, Based on the German Work of Francis Passow* (New York: Harper and Bros., 1879) 292. [Not in recent edition.]

[8]R. H. Charles, *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1913), 2. 163; O. Eissfeldt, *The Old Testament: An Introduction* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1965) 618-19. M. Rist ("Enoch, Book of," *IDB* 2 [1962] 104) would date this section later, ca. 100 B.C. In any case, fragments of this part of *Enoch* have been found at Qumran: see O. Betz, "Dead Sea Scrolls," *IDB* 1 (1962) 796; J. T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumran Cave 4* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976) 6, 139-40, 164.

Semjaza and his fellows. The instructions given to Raphael and Michael are of particular interest:

> Bind Azazel hand and foot, and cast him into darkness: and make an opening in the desert, which is in Dudael, and cast him therein. And place upon him rough and jagged rocks, and cover him with darkness, and let him abide there for ever, and cover his face that he may not see light. And on the great day of judgment he shall be cast into the fire. (*1 Enoch* 10:4–6)
>
> Go, bind Semjaza and his associates who have united themselves with women so as to have defiled themselves with them in all their uncleanness. And when their sons [the giants] have slain one another, and they have seen the destruction of their beloved ones, bind them fast for seventy generations in the valleys of the earth, till the day of their judgment and of the consummation, till the judgment that is for ever and ever is consummated. (*1 Enoch* 10:11–12)

Thus *Enoch* presents an interpretation of Gen 6 in terms of angelic cohabitation with women, resulting in gigantic offspring. The angels who sinned are bound to await the final judgment.

Jubilees

The Book of Jubilees [*Jub.*] is an expanded retelling of Genesis and part of Exodus. It provides an elaborate chronology based on sabbatical cycles and jubilees, plus a theory that the patriarchs observed various Mosaic regulations even before they were given at Sinai. Charles and Tedesche date the book in the last half of the 2nd century B.C., while Eissfeldt puts it about 100 B.C. More recently VanderKam has presented detailed arguments for a somewhat earlier date, around 150 B.C.[9]

Though apparently dependent on *1 Enoch* or one of its sources, *Jub.* differs from *Enoch* on the reason for the angels' descent to earth:

> . . . and he called his name Jared; for in his days the angels of the Lord descended on the earth, those who are named the Watchers, that they should instruct the children of men, and that they should do judgment and uprightness on the earth. (*Jub.* 4:15)

Chap. 5 follows with an expansion of Gen 6, in which these Watchers cohabit with women and the offspring produced are giants. The sinning angels are not named, but God's response to their sin is described:

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[9]Charles, *Pseudepigrapha* 6; S. Tedesche, "Jubilees, Book of," *IDB* 2 (1962) 1002; Eissfeldt, *OT Introduction* 608; J. C. VanderKam, *Textual and Historical Studies in the Book of Jubilees* (HSM 14; Missoula, MT: Scholars, 1977) 283–84.

And against the angels whom He had sent upon the earth, He was exceedingly wroth, and He gave command to root them out of all their dominion, and He made us [one of the good angels is speaking] to bind them in the depths of the earth, and behold they are bound in the midst of them and are (kept) separate. (*Jub.* 5:6)

Other Pseudepigrapha

The other works included in Jewish pseudepigrapha which refer to this view are late. Both *2 Enoch* 18 and 2 Baruch [*Bar*] 56 mention the angels of Gen 6 as being punished by torment, the former indicating that they are under earth, the latter as being in chains.

The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs [*T. 12 Patr.*] make reference to this view more than once, but the date and nature of these works are problematical since they are Chritian in their present form. Whether the Testaments are basically pre-Christian with some later editing, or basically Christian using some older Jewish materials, is still hotly debated.[10] In any case *T. Reub.* 5:5–7 presents an unusual variant of the supernatural view: the actual cohabitation is between humans, but the spiritual influence of the angels produces giants:

Flee, therefore, fornication, my children, and command your wives and your daughters, that they adorn not their heads and faces to deceive the mind: because every woman who uses these wiles hath been reserved for eternal punishment. For thus they allured the Watchers who were before the flood; for as these continually beheld them, they lusted after them, and they conceived the act in their mind; for they changed themselves into the shape of men, and appeared to them when they were with their husbands. And the women lusting in their minds after their forms, gave birth to giants, for the Watchers appeared to them as reaching even unto heaven.

T. Naph. 3:3–5 gives a supernatural interpretation of Gen 6:1–4 in a grouping of examples which parallels those in Jude and 2 Pet:

The Gentiles went astray, and forsook the Lord, and changed their order, and obeyed stocks and stones, spirits of deceit. But ye shall not be so, my children, recognizing in the firmament, in the earth, and in the sea, and in all created things, the Lord who made all things, that ye become not as Sodom, which changed the order of nature. In like manner the Watchers also changed the order of their nature, whom the Lord cursed at the flood, on whose account he made the earth without inhabitants and fruitless.

[10]Eissfeldt, *OT Introduction* 631–36; M. Smith, "Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs," *IDB* 4 (1962) 575–79; M. E. Stone, "Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs," *IDB Supp* (1976) 877.

Qumran

Among the materials found in caves near the Dead Sea, both the Genesis Apocryphon [1QapGen] and the Damascus Document [CD] refer to the supernatural interpretation. The former is a retelling of Genesis in popular style, extant only in one fragmented MS, which has been dated paleographically to the late 1st century B.C. or early 1st century A.D.[11] On the basis of a detailed comparison of contents with *1 Enoch* and *Jub.*, Vermes believes that apGen is older and a source for both, "the most ancient midrash of all." Fitzmyer disagrees, dating apGen in the same era as the extant MS.[12] Certainly it is no later than the Roman destruction of Qumran about A.D. 68. In what little remains of the scroll's col. 2, Lamech is fearful that his wife's pregnancy (her child will be Noah) is due to "the Watchers and the Holy Ones," but she stoutly denies it.

The CD is a sort of covenant-renewal document: the history of the community (presumably Qumran) is sketched, and its members are exhorted to covenant faithfulness. Cross and Vermes date the work to about 100 B.C.[13] Speaking of the "guilty inclination" and "eyes of lust," the author says:

> For through them, great men have gone astray and mighty heroes have stumbled from former times until now. Because they walked in the stubbornness of their heart the Heavenly Watchers fell; they were caught because they did not keep the commandments of God. And their sons also fell who were tall as cedar trees and whose bodies were like mountains. (CD 2:16–19)

Philo

In his treatise *On the Giants*, the Alexandrian Jewish philosopher Philo (20 B.C.–A.D. 50)[14] quotes the Old Greek version of this passage with the readings ἄγγελοι τοῦ θεοῦ and γίγαντες. Unfortunately Philo is not always a clear writer. Apparently he takes the literal meaning of the verses to refer to angels and women since, imediately after quoting Gen 6:2, he says:

> It is Moses' custom to give the name of angels to those whom other

[11]J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave 1: A Commentary* (BibOr 18A; Rome: Biblical Institute, 1971) 15.

[12]G. Vermes, *Scripture and Tradition in Judaism: Haggadic Studies* (SPB 4; Leiden: Brill, 1973) 124–25; Fitzmyer, *Genesis Apocryphon* 16–19.

[13]F. M. Cross, Jr., *The Ancient Library of Qumran and Modern Biblical Studies* (rev. ed.; Garden City: Doubleday, 1961) 81–82n; G. Vermes, *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (Baltimore: Penguin, 1968) 95.

[14]All dates are approximate throughout.

philosophers call demons [or spirits], souls that is which fly and hover in the air. And let no one suppose that what is here said is a myth.[15]

After a lengthy discussion arguing for the existence of non-corporeal spirits, however, Philo proceeds to allegorize the passage:

So, then, it is no myth at all of giants that he [Moses] sets before us; rather he wishes to show you that some men are earth-born, some heaven-born, and some God-born.[16]

Roughly speaking, these three categories Philo enumerates correspond to people primarily concerned about the physical, the intellectual and the mystical, respectively. Philo's sympathies definitely lie with the second and third. He has no interest in stories about physical mating, and is probably best understood as rejecting the literal meaning of this passage.[17] If so, we have in Philo a literal exegesis which gives the supernatural interpretation and an allegorical exegesis which provides a very unusual sort of nonsupernatural view.

Josephus

From late in the 1st century A.D. comes the *Jewish Antiquities* of Flavius Josephus (A.D. 37–100). The first eleven books of the *Antiquities* retell the biblical history with various elaborations based on Jewish traditions. In book one, just before recounting the flood, Josephus says:

For many angels of God now consorted with women and begat sons who were overbearing and disdainful of every virtue, such confidence had they in their strength; in fact, the deeds that tradition ascribes to them resemble the audacious exploits told by the Greeks of the giants.[18]

In addition to this clearly supernatural interpretation, Franxman sees evidence for a nonsupernatural interpretation involving Sethite-Cainite intermarriage: in the immediately preceding sentences of Josephus, we are told that the Sethites continue virtuous for seven generations and then turn away from God and become zealous for wickedness, a feature of later Sethite-Cainite views.[19] Yet nothing about intermarriage of Sethites and Cainites appears in the extant

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[15]Philo, *Giants* 6–7.

[16]Ibid., 60.

[17]See S. Sandmel, *Philo of Alexandria* (New York: Oxford, 1979) 150, 162, who notes that Philo denies the historicity of Sarah and Hagar in *On Mating* 180.

[18]Josephus, *Antiquities* 1.73.

[19]T. W. Franxman, *Genesis and the 'Jewish Antiquities' of Flavius Josephus* (BibOr 35; Rome: Biblical Institute, 1979) 80–81.

copies of Josephus, so Franxman must postulate this in a non-extant source he used.

Targum Pseudo-Jonathan

It is difficult to know where to place the targumim. These Aramaic translations of Scripture (often paraphrases or even commentaries) have an oral background in the synagogue services of pre-Christian times, but their extant written forms seem to be much later.[20] Among these, the *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan* [*Tg. Ps.-J.*] presents at least a partially supernatural interpretation. Although in its extant form this targum is later than the rise of Islam in the 7th century A.D., early materials also appear in it.[21] In view of the rabbinic reactions to the supernatural view by the 2nd century A.D. (see below), our passage is probably one of its early parts:

> And it came to pass when the sons of men began to multiply on the face of the ground, and beautiful daughters were born to them, that the sons of the great ones saw that the daughters of men were beautiful, with eyes painted and hair curled, walking in nakedness of flesh, and they conceived lustful thoughts; and they took them wives of all they chose. . . . Shamhazai and Azael fell from heaven and were on earth in those days, and also after that, when the sons of the great ones came in unto the daughters of men, and they bare children to them: the same are called men of the world, the men of renown. (*Tg. Ps.-J.* 6:1-2, 4)

Here the phrase "sons of the great ones" may reflect a nonsupernatural interpretation, but the reference to Shamhazai and Azael falling from heaven certainly does not. The names given are close to those in *1 Enoch*, considering that the latter has gone through two translations to reach its extant Ethiopic version. Notice also that the Nephilim are here identified with the angels rather than their offspring as in *Enoch*, *Jub.*, and Josephus.

As we shall see below, the supernatural interpretation was eventually superceded in Jewish circles by a nonsupernatural one, probably in the century following the fall of Jerusalem. Yet remnants of the former can still be seen in later rabbinic literature.

Early Christian References

Passing over the NT for the time being, we find abundant early evidence for the supernatural interpretation in Christian circles. Justin Martyr (A.D. 100–160) says, in his *Second Apology*:

[20]J. Bowker, *The Targums and Rabbinic Literature* (Cambridge: University, 1969) 14; M. McNamara, *Targum and Testament* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1972) 86–89.
[21]Bowker, *Targums* 26; McNamara, *Targum and Testament* 178.

God, when He had made the whole world, and subjected things earthly
to man, . . . committed the care of men and of all things under heaven
to angels whom He appointed over them. But the angels transgressed
this appointment, and were captivated by love of women, and begat
children who are those that are called demons.[22]

Justin goes on to tell how the human race was subdued to the angels
by being introduced to magic, fear, false worship and lust, and how
they were trained in all sorts of wickedness. Justin accepts the pagan
mythologies as having some historical veracity, describing the acts of
these angels and demons rather than the gods.

Clement of Alexandria (A.D. 150–215) alludes to the supernatural
interpretation in his *Miscellanies*: ". . . the angels who had obtained
the superior rank, having sunk into pleasures, told to the women the
secrets which had come to their knowledge. . . ."[23]

Tertullian (A.D. 160–220) speaks of the incident several times. In
On Idolatry 9, he says that "those angels, the deserters from God, the
lovers of women," revealed astrology to mankind. In his work
Against Marcion 5.18 he argues that Paul's reference to "spiritual
wickedness in the heavenlies" (Eph 6:12) does not refer to Marcion's
wicked creator-god, but to the time "when angels were entrapped into
sin by the daughters of men." And in his treatise *On the Veiling of
Virgins* 7, he argues that Paul's reference to veiling "because of the
angels" (1 Cor 11:10) refers to this incident.

Lactantius (A.D. 240–320), in his *Divine Institutes* 2.15, teaches
that God sent the angels to earth to teach mankind and protect them
from Satan, but that Satan "enticed them to vices, and polluted them
by intercourse with women." This is closer to *Jub.* than *Enoch*. The
sinning angels, Lactantius continues, could not return to heaven, so
they became demons of the air. Their half-breed offspring could not
enter hell (hades?), so they became demons of the earth. All of this
Lactantius connects with pagan mythology and the occult.

Similar materials are found in the *Clementine Homilies* 8.11–15
and the *Instructions* of Commodianus (chap. 3), neither of which is
likely to predate the 3rd century.[24] The *Homilies* add the unusual idea
that the angels had first transformed themselves into jewels and
animals to convict mankind of covetousness. Perhaps this was derived
from some of the stories about Zeus, as the writer says: "These things
also the poets among yourselves, by reason of fearlessness, sing, as
they befell, attributing to one the many and diverse doings of all"
(8:12).

[22]Justin, *Apology* 2.5.

[23]Clement, *Miscellanies* 5.1.10.

[24]See the relevant articles in F. L. Cross, *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian
Church* (London: Oxford, 1958).

THE NONSUPERNATURAL INTERPRETATION

The earliest extant examples of the nonsupernatural interpretations of Gen 6:2, 4 come from the 1st century A.D. and thus are later than the earliest specimens of the supernatural interpretation. Since all come centuries after Genesis was written, it is not possible to be sure which is the oldest.

First Century Sources

As mentioned previously, Philo prefers an allegorical interpretation of Gen 6:1–4 in which God-oriented persons (sons of God) may fall and become earth-centered (beget giants, the "earth-born") by consorting with vice and passion (daughters of men).

The *Biblical Antiquities* of Pseudo-Philo is another work which retells biblical history, in this case from Adam to Saul. By an unknown writer, it was attributed to Philo because it circulated with his genuine works. It is usually dated shortly before or after the fall of Jerusalem.[25] Chap. 3 begins:

> And it came to pass when men had begun to multiply on the earth, that beautiful daughters were born unto them. And the sons of God saw the daughters of men that they were exceeding fair, and took them wives of all that they had chosen. And God said: My spirit shall not judge among all these men forever, because they are of flesh; but their years shall be 120. (*Bib. Ant.* 3:1–2)

On the surface this does not appear to be an interpretation at all, and perhaps it is not. The writer does not mention the Nephilim, but this may be merely a case of epitomizing. Yet the rendering of the biblical ידון (Gen 6:3) by "judge" at least foreshadows *Targum Neofiti*, to be discussed below. Likewise the rabbinical exegesis of Gen 6:2—"they took wives of all they chose"—is anticipated in an earlier remark of Pseudo-Philo: "And at that time, when they had begun to do evil, every one with his neighbor's wife, defiling them, God was angry" (2:8).

Second Century Sources

Three translations of the OT into Greek were made in the 2nd century A.D.: one by Aquila, a student of R. Akiba, about A.D. 130;[26] another by Symmachus, said to be an Ebionite, late in the century;[27]

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[25] G. W. E. Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature Between the Bible and the Mishnah* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1981) 265–68.

[26] J. W. Wevers, "Aquila's Version," *IDB* 1 (1962) 176.

[27] J. W. Wevers, "Symmachus," *IDB* 4 (1962) 476.

and a third by Theodotion, of whom little is known. Theodotion reads υἱοὶ τοῦ θεοῦ and γίγαντες like many MSS of the LXX, adding nothing new and not clearly either supernatural or nonsupernatural.[28] Aquila has υἱοὶ τῶν θεῶν, which looks more like an attempt to avoid the problem of the one true God having sons than it does a preference for either of the interpretations we are considering. Symmachus has υἱοὶ τῶν δυναστευόντων, meaning either "sons of the powerful" or "sons of the rulers," rather like the targumic views to be discussed below and that of Meredith Kline.[29] For the Nephilim, Aquila has ἐπιπίπτοντες, meaning "those who fall upon," which might be either supernatural "those who fall upon (earth)" or nonsupernatural "those who attack." Symmachus has βίαιοι, "violent ones." Both the second translation of Aquila's rendering and that of Symmachus fit Gen 6:11—"the earth was filled with violence."

The Targumim

Targum Neofiti [*Targ. Neof.*] is the only complete extant MS of the Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch. The MS is from the 16th century, but its text has been variously dated from the 1st to the 4th centuries A.D.[30] In place of the Hebrew בני האלהים is the Aramaic בני דייניא, "sons of the judges," using a cognate noun to the verb ירון appearing in the MT of Gen 6:3.[31] Nephilim is rendered by גיבריה, "warriors." The text of the targum seems to reflect a nonsupernatural interpretation, unless we press the last sentence of 6:4—"these are the warriors that (were there) from the beginning of the world, warriors of wondrous renown"—so as to exclude human beings. However, the MS has many marginal notes, which presumably represent one or more other MSS of the Palestinian Targum.[32] One such note occurs at 6:4 and reads: "There were warriors dwelling on earth in those days, and also afterwards, after the sons of the angels had joined (in wedlock) the daughters of the sons."[33] Thus the text of *Targ. Neof.* seems to be nonsupernatural while a marginal note is clearly supernatural.

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[28]See the lower set of footnotes in the Göttingen LXX for the readings of these other Greek versions.

[29]M. G. Kline, "Divine Kingship and Genesis 6:1-4," *WTJ* 24 (1962) 187-204.

[30]See Bowker, *Targums* 16-20; McNamara, *Targum and Testament* 186; M. McNamara, "Targum," *IDB Supp* (1976) 858-59; R. LeDeaut, "The Current State of Targumic Studies," *BTB* 4 (1974) 5, 22-24.

[31]A. Diez Macho, *Neophyti 1: Genesis* (Madrid and Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Cientificas, 1968) 33, 511.

[32]S. Lund and J. Foster, *Variant Versions of Targumic Traditions Within Codex Neofiti 1* (SBLASP 2; Missoula, MT: Scholars, 1977) 12, 14; our passage and marginal note are not discussed.

[33]Diez Macho, *Neophyti* 511.

The *Targum of Onqelos* [*Tg. Onq.*] became the official targum to the Pentateuch for Judaism. According to the Babylonian Talmud [*Bab. Talm.*] (Meg. 3a) it was composed early in the 2nd century A.D., but this seems to be a confusion with the Greek translation of Aquila. Although the relations between the various targumim are complicated by mutual influence in transmission, *Onq.* was probably completed before A.D. 400 in Babylonia using Palestinian materials as a basis.[34] In our passage *Onq.* reads בני רברביא, "sons of the great ones," probably referring to rulers.[35] For Nephilim it has גיבריא. Etheridge's translation "giants" for this is possible, but not necessary, as Aberbach and Grossfeld prefer "mighty ones."[36]

Christian Interpretations

Meanwhile, the nonsupernatural interpretation begins to show up in Christian circles. Julius Africanus (A.D. 160–240) wrote a *History of the World* which has survived only in fragments quoted by later authors. In one of these Julius says:

> When men multiplied on earth, the angels of heaven came together with the daughters of men. In some copies I found "sons of God." What is meant by the Spirit in my opinion, is that the descendants of Seth are called the sons of God on account of the righteous men and patriarchs who have sprung from him, even down to the Saviour Himself; but that the descendants of Cain are named the seed of man, as having nothing divine in them. . . .[37]

There is no context to work with here, but it sounds as though Julius has derived this view on his own.

Augustine (A.D. 354–430) discusses Gen 6:1–4 in his *City of God*. His basic approach is seen in 15.22:

> It was the order of this love, then, this charity or attachment, which the sons of God disturbed when they forsook God and were enamored of the daughters of men. And by these two names (sons of God and daughters of men) the two cities [city of God and city of man] are sufficiently distinguished. For though the former were by nature children of men, they had come into possession of another name by grace.

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[34] Bowker, *Targums* 22–26; McNamara, *Targum and Testament* 173–76.

[35] A. Sperber, *The Bible in Aramaic; I: Targum Onkelos* (Leiden: Brill, 1959) 9.

[36] J. W. Etheridge, *The Targums of Onkelos and of Jonathan ben Uzziel on the Pentateuch with the Fragments of the Jerusalem Targum* (London: 1862–65; reprinted New York: Ktav, 1968), 1. 46; M. Aberbach and B. Grossfeld, *Targum Onkelos to Genesis* (New York: Ktav, 1982) 52.

[37] A. Roberts, J. Donaldson, A. C. Coxe and A. Menzies, *The Ante-Nicene Fathers* (Buffalo: Christian Literature, 1886), 6. 131.

Augustine goes on (15.23) to admit that angels do appear in bodies,
and that stories were at his time being told of women being assaulted
by sylvans and fauns, but he says "I could by no means believe that
God's holy angels could at that time have so fallen." He interprets
2 Pet 2:4 as referring to the primeval fall of Satan. The word "angel,"
he points out, can with scriptural warrant be applied to men. Besides,
the giants were already on earth when these things happened, and so
not the offspring of the sons of God and daughters of men. Also the
giants need not be of enormous stature but only so large as sometimes
seen today. God's response in Gen 6:3 is directed against men, so that
is what the "angels" were. He dismisses with contempt "the fables of
those scriptures which are called apocryphal."

Rabbinic Literature

The Mishnah is a concise topical summary of the oral rabbinic
legal traditions written about A.D. 200. It contains no reference to
Gen 6:1–4 to the best of my knowledge, but this is not surprising in
view of the preponderance of *halakah* rather than *haggadah*.

The Midrash Rabbah [*Midr. Rab.*] is a collection of interpretive
comments on the Pentateuch and the five Megillot (Ruth, Esther,
Ecclesiastes, Song of Solomon and Lamentations). The earliest of
these is Genesis Rabbah [*Gen. Rab.*], which Strack puts "not much
later than the Palestinian Talmud" (ca. A.D. 400) and Epstein sees as
mainly from the 3rd century A.D.[38] We have an extended discussion of
our passage in *Gen. Rab.* 26.5–7. R. Simeon b. Yohai (A.D. 130–160)
is quoted as identifying the "sons of God" as "sons of nobles" and as
cursing all who call them "sons of God." The reason for their title
"sons of God" is their long lifespans. To explain why marrying
women would be such a sin as the context indicates, R. Judan (A.D.
325) explains that טבת, "beautiful" (Gen 6:2), should be taken as a
singular adjective: the noblemen enjoyed the bride before the bride-
groom could. The phrase "they were beautiful" meant they took
virgins; "they took wives for themselves" meant they took married
women; "whomever they chose" meant they indulged in homosexuality
and bestiality. Regarding the interpretation of "Nephilim," the rabbis
apparently used Num 13:33, where the term is associated with the
Anakim at the time of the Exodus. With this hint and the aid of Deut
2:10–11, 20–21, they obtained five other names for the Nephilim by
which to describe them using etymological word-play. Two of these
are rather supernatural sounding: "Gibborim: . . . the marrow of each
one's thigh bone was eighteen cubits long"; "Anakim: . . . their necks

[38]H. L. Strack, *Introduction to Talmud and Midrash* (Philadelphia: JPS, 1931)
218, 65; I. Epstein, "Midrash," *IDB* 3 (1962) 376.

reached the globe of the sun." The term "Nephilim" is understood as teaching that "they hurled (הפילו) the world down, themselves fell (נפלו) from the world, and filled the world with abortions (נפילים) through their immorality."

A few scattered references occur in the Babylonian Talmud, a compilation of the Mishnah and its commentary finished in the 6th century A.D. A relatively clear allusion to the nonsupernatural view occurs in *Sanh.* 108a, in a context of the corruption of the generation at the time of the flood. R. Jose (A.D. 130–160) is quoted:

> They waxed haughty only on account of covetousness of the eyeball, which is like water, as it is written, And they took wives from all they chose. Therefore he punished them by water, which is like the eyeball, as it is written, All the fountains of the great deep were broken up, and the windows of heaven were opened.

There is a word-play here on עין, which can mean either "fountain" or "eye." The main point, however, is that the punishment was designed to fit the crime. Thus those who died in the flood are understood to be those who took the wives. If the attribution to R. Jose here is trustworthy, then this view was in circulation by the middle of the 2nd century A.D., in agreement with the testimony of Symmachus and *Gen. Rab.*

Elsewhere in the Talmud there are scattered remnants of the supernatural view. *Yoma* 67b refers to the scapegoat being called Azazel because it atones for the "affair of Uza and Aza°el," probably a reference to the Shamhazai and Azael of *1 Enoch* and *Tg. Ps.-J.*[39] *Nid.* 61a speaks of an Ahijah, son of Shamhazai.

NT INTERPRETATION

The supernatural interpretation clearly existed before NT times, as did Philo's peculiar nonsupernatural view. Whether or not the later rabbinic view (that the sons of God were judges or noblemen) or the later Christian view (that the sons of God were Sethites) existed at this time, we cannot say, but there is no positive evidence for them.

What does the NT have to say? Does it refer to Gen 6:2, 4 at all? If so, how does it interpret the passage? First, unlike hundreds of other OT passages, the NT nowhere explicitly quotes this passage. Any NT reference will therefore have to be merely an allusion. What will count as an allusion? Proponents of a nonsupernatural view will be at something of a disadvantage: references to the wickedness of men at the flood are not decisive in favor of the nonsupernatural

[39]L. Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews* (Philadelphia: JPS, 1937), 5. 152, explains how "Shamhazai" may be derived from "Uza."

view, but references to wicked angels will have to be assigned to some
other event if this view is to stand.

2 Pet 2:4

> For if God did not spare angels when they sinned, but cast them into
> hell and committed them to pits of darkness, reserved for judgment . . .

Is this a reference to Gen 6 or to the primeval fall of Satan
before Eden as proposed by Augustine? This example precedes a
reference to the flood and to Sodom and Gomorrah, so the order
would be chronological in either case. It is given as an example of
judgment to the readers of the epistle, and examples, when not
explained, can be presumed well-known to the original readers. The
other two examples are both well-known because they occur in Scrip-
ture. The primeval fall, however, would be almost totally inference,
whereas the supernatural view would see this as a popular understand-
ing of Scripture at the time. Certainly some measure of popularity is
to be inferred from its occurrence in the pseudepigrapha, Dead Sea
Scrolls, Philo and Josephus.

The word "pits" (σιροῖς) is a variant; some MSS read σειραῖς,
"chains." Either word would fit the description of the angels' punish-
ment in *1 Enoch* and *Jub.*, but this must be a new revelation (which
happens to match an old view of Gen 6!) on the nonsupernatural
view. Similarly for the details about "darkness" and the angels' being
"reserved for judgment." The verb translated "cast into hell" is ταρ-
ταρόω, derived from Tartarus, "a subterranean place lower than
Hades where divine punishment was meted out."[40]

This passage seems strongly to support the supernatural interpre-
tation of Gen 6, even though it raises problems regarding the extra
detail it shares with *Enoch* and *Jub.* not found in Genesis. We will
address this question later.

Jude 6

> And angels who did not keep their own domain, but abandoned their
> proper abode, He has kept in eternal bonds under darkness for the
> judgment of the great day.

Jude 14–15 contains a quotation that appears almost word-for-
word in *1 Enoch* 1:9,[41] so it is difficult to argue that Jude knew
nothing of *1 Enoch* 6. All the features of Jude 6 fit *1 Enoch* better

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[40]BAGD, 805.

[41]With attestation in the Qumran fragments; see Milik, *Books of Enoch*, on
4QEn*.

than they do *Jub.*, where the angels were on earth before sinning, and were even sent there by God. To explain Jude 6 of the primeval fall, one must see further new revelation here also, namely that this fall involved leaving their οἰκητήριον, "dwelling" or "abode." On the other hand, this is not necessary for the supernatural view, as the angels would at least have to come to earth to get their wives (Gen 6:2) and their offspring the Nephilim are explicitly said to be "on earth" (Gen 6:4).

In addition, Jude's next example (v 7) of Sodom and Gomorrah seems to refer back to this example when it says "they [Sodom and Gomorrah] in the same way as these [angels] indulged in gross immorality and went after strange flesh." One might seek to avoid this by reading "they [the cities around Sodom and Gomorrah] in the same way as these [Sodom and Gomorrah] indulged. . . ." But "these" is τούτοις, which more naturally refers to the angels (masculine) than to Sodom and Gomorrah, as the latter have just been referred to in the same verse by the feminine pronoun αὐτάς. Likewise "gross immorality" and "strange flesh" are two points of real parallelism between the violent homosexuality of Sodom and the angel-human liasons of the supernatural interpretation. It seems that Jude 6 strongly indicates a supernatural interpretation of Gen 6:1–4.

1 Cor 11:10

> Therefore the woman ought to have (a symbol of) authority on her head, because of the angels.

This verse has puzzling elements for any interpreter because of its briefness and lack of explanation. So little is known about the activity of angels that one cannot rule out some obscure allusion to the presence of good angels at Christian worship who would be offended by unsubmissive women.[42] Yet one can easily find more serious offenses for the angels to be upset about in the Corinthian worship services, e.g., misuse of tongues (chaps. 12–14) and disorderly conduct at the Lord's Supper (11:17–34). Yet the supernatural interpretation of Gen 6 would supply an excellent reason why this phrase would occur in this context and the statement would become far less cryptic. Tertullian so understood the passage by A.D. 200. This context might also fit the context tangentially, with woman being made for man (v 9) perhaps suggesting she was not made for angels, and the veiling indicating she is under the authority of father or husband.

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[42]E.g., R. C. H. Lenski, *The Interpretation of I and II Corinthians* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1961) 445.

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1 Pet 3:19-20

> For Christ also died for sins . . . that He might bring us to God, having
> been put to death in the flesh, but made alive in the Spirit, in which
> also He went and made proclamation to the spirits (now) in prison,
> who once were disobedient, when the patience of God kept waiting in
> the days of Noah. . . .

This, too, is a puzzling passage which bristles with uncertainties
no matter how one interprets Gen 6:1-4. Yet it seems clearly to point
to spirits disobedient at the time of Noah. The word "spirit" may
have been chosen by Peter to picture disembodied men (cf. Luke 8:55;
Acts 7:59), but it could also refer to or include non-humans. If the
passage concerns a "descent into hell," the supernatural interpretation
might at least suggest a rationale for singling out those particular
spirits associated with the time of Noah: the events of Gen 6:1-4 may
have been an attempt to thwart or pre-empt the incarnation. By itself
the passage hardly proves the NT favors the supernatural interpre-
tation.

Matt 22:30

> For in the resurrection they neither marry nor are given in marriage,
> but are like the angels in heaven.

This is probably the most common passage on which the super-
natural interpretation is refuted.[43] It is quite naturally understood to
teach that angels cannot marry and therefore they never have. Like-
wise, the terminology recalls Gen 6:2, since "to take a wife to oneself"
is a standard OT idiom for marriage. But perhaps the term "angels" is
intentionally qualified by the phrase "in heaven." In the supernatural
interpretation it was not the angels in heaven that took wives, but
those who left heaven (cf. Jude 6: "abandoned their abode") and
came to earth to do so. This would not be so obscure an allusion in
NT times as it seems to us today if the supernatural interpretation
were then common knowledge as the evidence indicates. The same
phrase "in heaven" occurs in the parallel passage in Mark (12:25). It
does not occur in Luke (20:36), but the context strongly implies good
angels are in view.

Other NT Passages

No other passages strongly favor either interpretation. References
to the abyss—as an unpleasant abode for demons (Luke 8:31), as a

[43]E.g., Murray, *Principles of Conduct* 246; Stigers, *Genesis* 97; C. F. Keil and
F. Delitzsch, *Biblical Commentary on the Old Testament: The Pentateuch* (1875;
reprinted Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1950), 1. 131.

prison for some sort of supernatural locusts (Rev 9:1–11), and as the source for the beast (Rev 11:7)—are consistent with either view, though somewhat parallel to the binding beneath the earth described in *1 Enoch* and *Jub.* So is the reference to the binding of Satan in Rev 20. A Sethite-Cainite view of Gen 6:1–4 might serve as a basis for Paul's remarks about mixed marriages in 1 Cor 7:9, 15, but these could easily be generalized from OT regulations against intermarriage with Gentiles. In spite of the interpretation commonly given to Matt 22:30 and parallels, the evidence seems strong that the NT adopts a supernatural interpretation of Gen 6:1–4.

SOURCES OF THE INTERPRETATIONS

Here we move from the solid ground of extant sources to the thin ice of speculation. Since the authors rarely write anything directly about their sources or methods, we are left to inferences from what they do write. Patte summarizes the situation nicely for the Qumran commentators:

> At first one wonders what is the actual relationship between the biblical text quoted and its interpretation. The author is giving us the results of his use of Scripture without emphasizing the process itself.[44]

Studies in the NT and the intertestamental literature indicate that this situation is not confined to Qumran.

Several sources for these interpretations can be imagined: (1) pure invention; (2) borrowing from another source, whether an earlier writing, an oral tradition, or even pagan mythology; (3) extra-biblical revelation, whether divine or occult; and (4) influence from other OT passages thought to be relevant. This list is probably not exhaustive.

The first category is doubtless important: new ideas for the interpretation of a given passage will continue to arise until at least the simpler alternatives are exhausted. Borrowing from an earlier written or oral source may also be important. As long as these sources are interpretations of the passage at hand, this will merely serve to push the origin of the interpretation back into non-extant sources. Charles believes this is what happened for our passage in *1 Enoch*, which he attributes to a non-extant *Book of Noah*.[45] The idea that the Jews borrowed from pagan myth is popular among liberals. Where Jews believed that the event reported in a pagan myth really happened, they might have done so, though this is hard to imagine for the Pharisees or Essenes. Indeed, in some of these cases, the events reported may actually have happened!

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[44]D. Patte, *Early Jewish Hermeneutic in Palestine* (SBLDS 22; Missoula, MT: Scholars, 1975) 303.

[45]Charles, *Pseudepigrapha* 163.

Regarding extra-biblical revelation, Patte and Russell believe that some of the apocalyptic literature may be based on actual visions experienced by the author.[46] Whether Patte accepts the miraculous or not is not altogether clear: he speaks of these visions as "psychical"[47] yet also as being put together by "creative imagination" from materials in the author's memory.[48] Frederic Gardiner favors earlier unrecorded divine revelation as a source for some of the materials in 2 Pet and Jude:

> Particulars of their [fallen angels'] history may have been from time to time incidentally revealed which have not been mentioned in the volume of inspiration, but may nevertheless form a true basis for various traditions concerning them. This seems probable from the way in which both St. Peter and St. Jude speak of them, citing certain facts of the history, not elsewhere revealed, as well-known truths.[49]

Neither should occult activity be ruled out in some Jewish sectarian circles at this period.

Yet some of the interpretations which we see here may be based on other OT passages thought to be relevant to Gen 6:1–4. Both the NT and the Jewish literature throughout this period often weave together OT passages from various locations.[50] This may even be the case when it is not so obvious:

> ... in many cases where we cannot understand the reason for a targumic interpretation, one should resist the temptation to conclude that it is the product of the mere fancy of either the targumist or of the community. . . . On the contrary, we should assume that in most instances the targumic interpretations are the result of an explanation of Scripture by means of Scripture.[51]

This fourth category is the most easily investigated since the OT is extant.

Consider first the interpretation of בני האלהים, "sons of God." The various interpretations are most easily seen as a combination of categories (1) and (4) above, working out the simple alternatives on the basis of Scriptural parallels. The phrase occurs in Job 1:6 and 2:2 in a heavenly context, and Satan is associated with them. Thus the

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[46]Patte, *Hermeneutic* 182; D. S. Russell, *Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1964) 172.

[47]Patte, *Hermeneutic* 183, 201.

[48]Ibid., 183.

[49]F. Gardiner, *The Last of the Epistles: A Commentary Upon the Epistle of St. Jude* (Boston: John P. Jewett, 1856) 72.

[50]See Patte, *Hermeneutic* 184, and throughout, on anthological style.

[51]Ibid., 67.

supernatural view "angels" arises easily. On the other hand, אלהים is occasionally used of rulers and judges in the OT (e.g., Exod 22:8, 9), from which the Jewish nonsupernatural interpretation may be derived. It is possible that the targumic rendering "sons of the great ones" in *Tg. Ps.-J.* and *Tg. Onq.* may have another origin—an etymological translation to protect the transcendence of God by denying that he has any sons. Philo's mystical and moralizing exegesis of Gen 6:1–4 is a general characteristic of his technique. It is borrowed from the ethical and anti-historical, anti-physical side of hellenistic Greek philosophy. Perhaps it might be said to be influenced by pagan mythology by way of negative reaction. The Christian nonsupernatural view—"sons of Seth" or believers—is most likely based on the NT use of "sons of God" for believers (e.g., in John 1:12), coupled with Gen 4:26 and 5:24.

The interpretation of נפלים by "giants" is easily understandable for both the supernatural and nonsupernatural views. The word Nephilim only occurs elsewhere in the OT in Num 13:33, where it is associated with the large size of the Anakim. Perhaps the reference here to the Israelites being like grasshoppers in their sight explains the rabbinic remark (*Gen. Rab.* 26.7) that the "marrow of each one's thigh was eighteen cubits long." If we take the grasshopper's "thigh" as one inch long and the human thigh as one cubit long (ca. 18 inches), the proportion is exact!

Regarding the binding of the angels mentioned in *1 Enoch, Jub.*, 2 Pet and Jude, this feature may depend on an earlier source going back to explicit revelation, or it may be derived from Isa 24:21–22:

> So it will happen on that day,
> That the LORD will punish the host of heaven on high
> And the kings of the earth, on earth.
> And they will be gathered together
> Like prisoners in the dungeon [lit. "pit"]
> And will be confined in prison
> And after many days they will be punished.

We would normally interpret this passage eschatologically because of the context. Yet it might be understood as the eschatological punishment for an earlier sin, especially if we follow the Qumran Isaiah MS 1QIsa^a, which reads אספו (perfect) instead of the usual ואספו (perfect with *waw*), giving a past tense instead of future:[52]

> They were gathered together . . .
> And will be confined . . .
> And after many days they will be punished.

[52]*BHK*, 641n.

In any case the passage refers to the confinement in a pit of what
appear to be angelic beings, like prisoners (chained?), with an eschato-
logical punishment after many days. The reference in the context (Isa
24:18–19) to "windows above" being opened and the earth being split
is certainly reminiscent of events at the beginning of the flood (Gen
7:11), though the terminology is not identical. Even if this passage is
seen as strictly eschatological, its parallels with the flood may have
suggested a parallel mode of punishment to interpreters favoring a
supernatural view of Gen 6:1–4.

Most of the angelic names in *Enoch* are modeled on the biblical
angelic names "Michael" and "Gabriel," using the theophoric element
"El" for God and either angelic spheres of authority or divine
attributes.[53] One exception is "Shamhazai," but Ginzberg sees the
first syllable as שם, "name," a common targumic substitute for the
divine name. "Azazel," too, is of special interest, and it may suggest
that other angelic names are derived from OT texts. The name (or
something close to it) occurs in the scapegoat passage in Lev 16:8.
One goat is for the LORD, the other for Azazel, taking עזאזל as a
proper noun instead of a term meaning "entire removal."[54] The word
may well have been puzzling, and the reference in Lev 17:7 to goats as
objects of worship might have led early interpreters to speculate that
there was something supernatural about "Azazel." Charles notes that
"Dudael," the place of Azazel's binding in *1 Enoch* 10:4, is in the
wilderness and on "rough and jagged rocks" just like the place to
which the scapegoat is taken in *Tg. Ps.-J.*[55]

Thus it appears that a number of details appearing in the various
interpretations of Gen 6:2, 4 can be derived—rightly or wrongly—from
other OT passages. This does not prove that they actually arose in
this way.

CONCLUSIONS

We have now examined the ancient interpretation of Gen 6:2, 4
in Jewish literature, in Christian literature and in the NT in particular.
The earliest extant view is the supernatural one, that the "sons of
God" were angels and that the "Nephilim" were their gigantic off-
spring. The sin in this case was the unnatural union between angels
and humans. Going beyond the text of Genesis, this view pictures the
offending angels as being bound and cast into dark pits until the day
of judgment. This interpretation seems to have been popular at the
time of Christ. The nonsupernatural interpretations are not extant

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[53]See Charles, *Pseudepigrapha* 191; Ginzberg, *Legends*, 5. 152–53; Milik, *Books of Enoch*, on 4QEn[a].

[54]BDB, 736.

[55]Charles, *Pseudepigrapha* 193.

until later and take two basic forms which we may for convenience label "Jewish" and "Christian." The Jewish view sees the "sons of God" as judges or noblemen and the "Nephilim" as violent warriors. The sin involved is unrestrained lust, rape, and bestiality. The Christian view sees the "sons of God" as Sethites or believers in general, the "daughters of men" as Cainites or unbelievers, and the sin as mixed marriage.

After investigating possible NT references to this passage, it appears highly likely that the NT does refer to this incident, almost certainly in Jude 6 and 2 Pet 2:4. Other passages are less certain, but 1 Cor 11:10 and Matt 22:30 are probable. Though serious questions can be raised whether Matt 22:30 and parallels endorse or oppose the supernatural interpretation, Jude and 2 Pet clearly favor the supernatural position.

Do Jude and 2 Pet *endorse* this interpretation or only mention it? One might be inclined to dismiss Jude's reference as an *ad hominem* argument against opponents who accepted the OT pseudepigrapha since he apparently quotes *1 Enoch* 1:9 in v 14 and cites a no longer extant portion of the *Assumption of Moses* in v 9.[56] Yet there is no hint in the context that Jude in any way distances himself from these citations. In 2 Pet 2, the whole structure of the argument (vv 4–9) indicates that Peter endorses the historicity of this angelic sin: if God judged those notorious sinners of antiquity, then he will judge these current false prophets who engage in similar activities.

Not only do Jude and 2 Peter seem to endorse the supernatural interpretation of Gen 6, they also mention some of the details found in *1 Enoch* and *Jub.* which do not occur in the Genesis account. Liberal theologians have no difficulty here, since they treat all of this as superstitious nonsense, but how are those who believe in the Bible to respond?

Although part of the evangelical resistance to the supernatural interpretation is exegetical and part is theological, some resistance seems to be due to rationalistic assumptions. Especially in the fields of science, history and Biblical studies, a "minimal-miracle" stance may be adopted, if for no other reason than that miracles pose a roadblock to investigation. However, whenever a minimal-miracle approach begins to produce a crop of problem passages, we should consider the possibility that we are wresting Scripture or other data.

It is also possible that evangelicals along with liberals have adopted too readily the enlightenment-evolutionary view that the

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[56]For ancient patristic evidence that this incident appeared in the *Assumption of Moses* in their times, see C. Bigg, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistles of St. Peter and St. Jude* (ICC; New York: Scribners, 1909) 331; a complete list of texts is given in R. H. Charles, *The Assumption of Moses* (London: Black, 1897) 107–10.

ancients were ignorant and superstitious. Perhaps an over-reaction to the excesses of the medieval Catholic Church is also to blame. Of course the ancients (except in the case of inspiration) were fallible and influenced by the dominant worldviews of their times, but so are we. They did not have the leisure, technology, communications, and libraries that we have, so we should not expect their scholarship to be as impressive as ours. But they weren't fools! When all of human history testifies against our times to the reality of the supernatural and the occult, we evangelicals (of all people) would be foolish to dismiss this testimony out of hand, especially when it corroborates biblical testimony.

May it not be possible that we enlightened, 20th-century Christians can learn something positive from the ancient exegetes? Perhaps they were right in seeing an angelic incursion in Gen 6:1-4 and we are wrong in denying it. Perhaps with a great interest in the supernatural and angels some ancient interpreters scoured the Scriptures to locate any hints it might contain on this subject. In such a case, they might well have reached some valid insights which God preserved by inscripturation in the NT.

EVANGELICALS, REDACTION CRITICISM, AND INERRANCY: THE DEBATE CONTINUES

DAVID L. TURNER

This article continues the summary and evaluation of evangelicals and redaction criticism which began in an earlier essay (see GTJ 4 *[1983] 263–88). Recent studies are surveyed, as are recent events in the Evangelical Theological Society. The need for careful articulation of biblical inerrancy in the light of the synoptic phenomena continues to exist. The hermeneutics statement of the International Council on Biblical Inerrancy (1982) is a step in the right direction. However, further clarification and refinement are needed if evangelicals are to avoid doctrinal deviation, on the one hand, and unnecessary division on the other.*

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INTRODUCTION

A STUDY in the last issue of *GTJ* surveyed and evaluated important aspects of evangelical redaction criticism since N. B. Stonehouse.[1] The present essay is essentially a brief update on recent developments in evangelicalism, many of which center in the Evangelical Theological Society and the commentary of R. H. Gundry on Matthew.[2] Three topics will be surveyed: (1) the recently published third volume of *Gospel Perspectives*, (2) the dialogue between Gundry and two critics in the *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* (26:1, 1983), and (3) the developments at the 1983 Evangelical Theological Society annual meeting.

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[1] D. L. Turner, "Evangelicals, Redaction Criticism, and the Current Inerrancy Crisis," *GTJ* 4 (1983) 263–88. N. B. Stonehouse, G. R. Osborne, and R. H. Gundry are the men whose approaches are evaluated in this study.

[2] *Matthew: A Commentary on His Literary and Theological Art* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982).

MIDRASH AND THE GOSPELS: *GOSPEL PERSPECTIVES*, VOLUME III

The Tyndale House (Cambridge, England) Gospels Research Project has now produced its third volume of studies in the gospels.[3] In view of Gundry's position that Matthew is midrashic, this volume is especially timely and noteworthy. In general, the various contributors to this book believe that midrash is a very complex matter, poorly understood by many NT scholars. The essays in the volume serve to introduce the various nuances of this word as used to describe the historiography of extra-biblical Jewish literature. Further, several of the contributors come to specific conclusions especially relevant to the questions of historicity and inerrancy in the gospels.

R. Bauckham's study of Pseudo-Philo[4] has convinced him that there is no *creatio ex nihilo* of narrative involved. Bauckham states, "Pseudo-Philo's ingenuity in this field of exegesis is displayed not in creating events to fit prophecies, but in finding prophecies to fit events."[5] Gundry seems to think that Matthew has done just the opposite in some places in his gospel.[6] While Bauckham acknowledges that the possibility exists that the gospels could contain substantial non-historical sections, he believes that this does not fit in with literature such as Pseudo-Philo's writings which adds only "relatively minor embellishments of stories whose main outlines already existed."[7]

The implications of F. F. Bruce's study of biblical exposition in the Qumran materials[8] are similar. Bruce summarizes exegetical principles and procedures evident in the Qumran materials and also provides some illustrations of Qumran biblical exegesis. One of his concluding observations is that

> It was the Christ-event that made the OT a new book to the early Christians: their new interpretation of the OT did not create the Christ-event or the narratives in which they recorded it. In so far as the Qumran literature provides an analogy, it lends no support to the view that the evangelists engaged in free redactional activity uninhibited by historical fact.[9]

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[3]R. T. France and D. Wenham, eds., *Studies in Midrash and Historiography*, vol. 3 of *Gospel Perspectives* (Sheffield: JSOT, 1983).

[4]R. Bauckham, "The *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum* of Pseudo-Philo and the Gospels as Midrash," pp. 33–76.

[5]Ibid., 60, cf. 64, where it is stated that there is no precedent in Jewish "midrashic" literature for the creation of events to fulfill prophecies.

[6]Gundry, *Matthew*, pp. 37, 632–33.

[7]Bauckham, "*Liber Aniquitatum* . . . ," p. 63.

[8]F. F. Bruce, "Biblical Exposition at Qumran," pp. 77–98.

[9]Ibid., pp. 97–98. The implications of this statement appear to be quite negative for Gundry's approach to Matthew. Interestingly, Bruce had earlier written some very positive remarks about Gundry's commentary which appear on the back of the commentary's dust jacket.

Bruce's conclusion appears to deny that one finds the type of "midrash" in the Qumran documents that Gundry attempts to find in Matthew.

R. T. France's contribution to *Gospel Perspectives* III is also pertinent.[10] He denies that there is any significant tendency in Jewish literature, apart from two examples, to create or embellish narratives found in Scripture.[11] In his view there was no uniform Jewish historiography in the early Christian period[12] such as would be demanded by Gundry's view of Matthew.[13] France also cautions against the excessive use of "parallels" between Jewish literature and the NT. The time interval between the OT and the Jewish literature under consideration is much greater than that between Christ's earthly ministry and the writing of the gospels.[14] A comparison of fulfillment formulas in I Maccabees and Matthew results in France's conclusion that both have an interest which is "quite compatible with the historical reporting of events."[15] It is evident that these conclusions run against the grain of Gundry's approach to Matthew.

D. J. Moo's study also calls attention to the same distinction between rabbinic and NT exegesis of the OT noted by France: the NT is influenced by very recent events.[16] Moo believes that there are more differences than similarities when one compares "midrash," as the term is used today, and the use of the OT in Matt 27:3–10. He views the term "midrash" as inappropriate for Matt 27:3–10, if the term refers to the creative influence of the OT on tradition.[17]

P. B. Payne has contributed a study to this volume which specifically criticizes Gundry's view of Matthew.[18] Payne's lengthy evaluation is quite critical of Gundry for reasons which were advanced by other contributors to the volume. Specifically, Payne convincingly

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[10]R. T. France, "Jewish Historiography, Midrash, and the Gospels," pp. 99–127.

[11]Ibid., p. 119.

[12]Ibid., p. 120.

[13]Gundry (*Matthew*, pp. 634–35) suggests that Matthew's readers were familiar with a historiography which mixed actual events and unhistorical embellishments. France's conclusions appear to deny this.

[14]France, "Jewish Historiography," pp. 120–23.

[15]Ibid., p. 122. Along this line attention should also be directed to France's earlier study, "Scripture, Tradition, and History in the Infancy Narratives of Matthew," in *Gospel Perspectives*, vol. II, ed. R. T. France and D. Wenham (Sheffield: JSOT, 1981) 239–66. In this study France affirms not only the historicity of Matthew's infancy narratives, but also that such historicity is an essential foundation of Matthew's overall theology.

[16]D. J. Moo, "Tradition and Old Testament in Matthew 27:3–10," pp. 157–75, see especially p. 167.

[17]Ibid., p. 168.

[18]P. B. Payne, "Midrash and History in the Gospels with Special Reference to R. H. Gundry's *Matthew*," pp. 177–215.

refutes much of Gundry's evidence for midrashic intent in Matthew.[19]
Next, he points out the literary problems with Gundry's theory that
Matthew is midrashic.[20] Payne views Gundry's theory as anachronistic
and emphasizes several differences between Matthew and midrash.
Overall, this critique is quite telling against Gundry's views, even
though there are some overstatements.[21]

The upshot of all this is ably summarized by France in a post-
script.[22] France repeatedly emphasizes that the term "midrash" cannot
be equated with "creative unhistorical embellishment," which appears
to be an essential part of Gundry's main thesis.[23] France concludes:

> All this . . . throws grave doubt on any suggestion, whether ad-
> vanced in the name of 'midrash' or not, that the narration in historical
> form of unhistorical events, whether derived from scriptural meditation
> or from pure imagination, was typical of first-century Jewish literature,
> the more so when it is recent 'events' which are in question.[24]

France declares the following syllogism, which fits Gundry's view of
Matthew fairly well, to be invalid, since both its premises are false:

Midrash is unhistorical writing in the guise of history.
The gospels (or parts of them) are midrashic.
Therefore, the gospels (or parts of them) are not to be taken seriously
    as history.[25]

GUNDRY AND CRITICS: *JETS* 26:1 (1983)

The March 1983 issue of the *Journal of the Evangelical Theo-
logical Society* featured a debate between Gundry and two critics,
D. J. Moo and N. L. Geisler. The format involved an initial critique
and response by Gundry, followed by a rejoinder by the critic and a
surrejoinder by Gundry. This approach enables the reader almost to
sit in on a conversation between the two men involved.

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[19]Ibid., pp. 180–94.

[20]Ibid., pp. 194–209.

[21]For example, it is doutbful that Gundry views the whole of Matthew as midrashic
(p. 194), or that Gundry believes that everything in Matthew which does not correspond
to Mark or Luke is a creative unhistorical embellishment (pp. 209, 211).

[22]R. T. France, "Postscript—Where Have We Got To, and Where Do We Go
From Here?," pp. 289–99.

[23]Gundry, *Matthew*, pp. 628, 637, 639. See also "A Response to Some Criticisms
of *Matthew: A Commentary on His Literary and Theological Art*," paper presented at
E.T.S. 1982 annual meeting, pp. 23, 31.

[24]France, "Postscript," p. 292.

[25]Ibid., p. 299.

Moo's initial critique[26] is mainly methodological, not theological. Moo agrees with Gundry on the question of Markan priority, and with the corollary that Matthew used Mark.[27] Yet Moo attempts to show that Gundry exaggerates the extent of Matthean redaction. He also supplies three solid reasons for doubting that Matthew should be compared so directly with Jewish midrashim. Moo believes that Matthew's concern for "the significance of the space-and-time facticity of events"[28] would preclude his writing a gospel like Gundry believes he has written. Gundry's initial response to Moo[29] attempts to answer some of Moo's specific points and also lists supposed parallels in Jewish literature. However, the detailed studies in *Gospel Perspectives* III (which have been summarized above), came to conclusions which are the opposite of Gundry's. Moo's rejoinder[30] to Gundry's response expresses concern over Gundry's complete confidence in Markan priority and his reliance upon statistics which are questionably produced. Additionally, Moo shows how some of Gundry's "contradictions" can be harmonized while retaining historicity. It is emphasized again that Matthew should be compared with Mark and Luke rather than with extra-biblical Jewish works. Moo concludes that Gundry's position is methodologically unconvincing and theologically uncomfortable. Gundry's surrejoinder[31] traverses once again point by point the territory Moo has covered and concludes that there is no need to modify the position taken in the commentary.

Geisler's initial critique[32] is strikingly different from Moo's. He insists that a sincere orthodox confession does not guarantee orthodox conclusions. In other words, Gundry's official (*de jure*) affirmation of inerrancy is denied in fact (*de facto*) by Gundry's method. In all this the questionable assumption seems to be that belief in the truth of the

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[26]D. J. Moo, "Matthew and Midrash: An Evaluation of Robert H. Gundry's Approach," *JETS* 26 (1983) 31–39.

[27]Ibid., p. 32. It is important to realize, however, that a growing number of NT scholars are dissatisfied with the Markan priority approach to the synoptic phenomena. For example, a provocative article in the same issue of *JETS* being considered here argues that Gundry's view that "drastic changes" were made from one gospel to another is much less likely if Matthean priority is held. According to the author of this article, J. Breckenridge, "we seem to have two choices: either opt for Matthean priority and a reasonable exercise of form criticism, or accept Markan priority and suffer the consequences of a more severe redaction criticism." See "Evangelical Implications of Matthean Priority," *JETS* 26 (1983) 117–21, especially p. 121.

[28]Moo, "Evaluation," p. 39.

[29]R. H. Gundry, "A Response to 'Matthew and Midrash,'" *JETS* 26 (1983) 41–56.

[30]D. J. Moo, "Once Again: Matthew and Midrash: A Rejoinder to Robert H. Gundry," *JETS* 26 (1983) 57–70.

[31]R. H. Gundry, "A Surrejoinder to Douglas J. Moo," *JETS* 26 (1983) 71–86.

[32]N. L. Geisler, "Methodological Unorthodoxy," *JETS* 26 (1983) 87–94.

entire Bible is identical to belief that everything "reported" in the Bible occurred.[33] Gundry's initial response to Geisler[34] points out, with a degree of legitimacy, that Geisler has ignored the necessary data of the NT phenomena. He convincingly shows that his approach is not allegorical, as Geisler has urged. Undaunted, Geisler's rejoinder[35] presses the same points made initially. He comes closest to the real problem with Gundry's view when he asserts that "Matthew presents these events [= alleged unhistorical embellishments] as history in the same way he presents other events as history, with no literary clues that they should be taken unhistorically."[36] Geisler also charges that Gundry has misused the concept of authorial intent. He concludes by asking some very pointed questions about Gundry's views and conclusions on inerrancy. Gundry's surrejoinder expresses the conviction that Geisler has missed the point. Additionally, his surrejoinder exhibits a better understanding of authorial intent than Geisler's rejoinder.[38] Gundry concludes with answers to Geisler's pointed questions, even though he correctly concludes that Geisler is baiting him. It is disturbing here, however, to see how Gundry attempts to stretch the sense of Articles XIII and XIV of the I.C.B.I "Chicago Statement on Biblical Hermeneutics."[39] Here Geisler's concern about evangelical concession to the subjective "new hermeneutic" appears to be legitimate.[40]

From the *JETS* debate several conclusions can be drawn. It is clear from Moo's critique that Gundry's approach is methodologically suspect. Granted, proper interpretation of scripture involves recognition of a variety of literary forms. Yet a hypothesis about the form or genre of a book of Scripture which negates the historicity of events which present themselves as historical fact is invalid.[41] The available data from Matthew, the other gospels, and extra-biblical Jewish literature indicates that God did not superintend the writing of such a book as Gundry perceives Matthew to be.

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[33]Ibid., pp. 91–92. I have already pointed out why this assumption is questionable. See D. L. Turner, "Evangelicals, Redaction Criticism, and the Current Inerrancy Crisis," *GTJ* 4 (1983) 284–85.

[34]R. H. Gundry, "A Response to Methodological Unorthodoxy," *JETS* 26 (1983) 95–100.

[35]N. L. Geisler, "Is There Madness in the Method? A Rejoinder to Robert H. Gundry," *JETS* 26 (1983) 101–8.

[36]Ibid., p. 102.

[37]R. H. Gundry, "A Surrejoinder to Norman L. Geisler," *JETS* 26 (1983) 109–15.

[38]Ibid., p. 112, compare Geisler, "Rejoinder," pp. 104–5.

[39]I have previously alluded to these two articles and their ominous implications for Gundry's approach in "Evangelicals . . . and the Inerrancy Crisis," p. 282. The entire text of the Chicago Statement has been published in *JETS* 25 (1982) 397–401.

[40]Geisler, "Methodological Unorthodoxy," p. 94.

[41]See the Chicago Statement on Biblical Hermeneutics, Articles 10, 13, 14.

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS: THE 1983 E.T.S. ANNUAL MEETING

The Evangelical Theological Society met in Dallas, Texas on December 15–17, 1983. At this meeting an *ad hoc* committee, formed to propose what E.T.S. should do in light of the current debate, gave its report. At the plenary business section this committee presented three recommendations. The first was that the E.T.S. executive committee appoint a special, broadly-based committee to study the complexities of the situation and to make recommendations designed to meet the long range need of the Society to clarify its doctrinal statement. The second recommendation from the *ad hoc* committee advocated the adoption of both "Chicago Statements" of the I.C.B.I. (on inerrancy and hermeneutics) as interim statements meeting the immediate need for E.T.S. to take a clear stance on inerrancy. The third recommendation simply was that E.T.S. adopt Robert's Rules of Order, Article XIII, section 75, regarding due process for members of voluntary organizations whose membership is being challenged.

Since the third proposal amounted to a constitutional amendment, it could only be read at the 1983 meeting. It will be discussed and voted on at the 1984 meeting. The first two proposals were both defeated. The great majority of the Society evidently believed that it would be too costly to fund another committee and that the present brief doctrinal statement[42] need not be clarified. Similarly, the proposal to adopt the I.C.B.I. statements was viewed as an unnecessary addition to the doctrinal statement, one which was not framed by E.T.S. and which contained ambiguities. Evidently, many believed that additional stipulations were unnecessary since the Society's Constitution already made provision for dealing with members whose status was controversial.[43]

At this point in the business meeting a motion was made to the effect that E.T.S. go on record as rejecting any position that states that a biblical author materially altered or embellished historical traditions, or departed from the actuality of events in writing the Bible. This motion, obviously aimed at Gundry's position on Matthew,[44] occasioned lengthy debate. A motion to table it failed, and when the question was called, a ballot vote passed the motion 119 to 36. At this point another motion was made, to the effect that Gundry be requested to resign from the Society unless he could acknowledge his

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[42] The present statement reads: "The Bible alone, and the Bible in its entirety, is the Word of God written and is therefore inerrant in the autographs."

[43] The relevant section of the Constitution is Article IV, Section 4: "In the event that the continued membership of an individual be deemed detrimental to the best interests of the Society, his name may be dropped from the membership roll at an annual meeting, but only after a two-thirds vote."

[44] Note the similarities to Gundry's statements in *Matthew*, pp. 623, 639.

position to be in error. Here another lengthy and tense debate followed. Eventually the question was called, and the motion passed 116 to 41. When the vote was announced, Gundry spoke briefly, resigning from the Society, and expressing concerns for the future.

It should be noted that in the debate summarized above there was evidence that many who disagreed with Gundry's position still held him in high esteem as a Christian scholar and gentleman. Also noteworthy were the statements of a few of the Society's "founding fathers." Unanimously they asserted that Gundry's conclusions regarding Matthew were contradictory to what they understood inerrancy to entail. These assertions seemed to be quite influential in determining the outcome of the final two motions.[45]

CONCLUSION

In concluding this study, an evaluation of the current situation is necessary. First, the crucial need for clarification of what evangelicals mean by inerrancy still exists. Recent events in the E.T.S. indicate that the word "inerrancy" has implications not shared by all who sincerely claim to believe in it.[46] It is disappointing that E.T.S. has decided not to speak to this crucial need. Evidently, I.C.B.I will be the main catalyst toward this needed clarification. In the event that such clarification is not attempted or forthcoming, at least two dangers surface.

The first danger is that of doctrinal deviation. Evangelicals dare not compromise their sole basis of authority, the written Word of God. One important implication of inerrancy has been historicity.

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[45]For news articles describing the E.T.S. Dallas meeting see L. R. Keylock, "Evangelical Scholars Remove Gundry for His Views on Matthew," *CT* (Feb. 3, 1984) 36–38, and D. R. Mitchell, "Gundry Asked to Resign from ETS," *Fundamentalist Journal* (Feb. 1984) 63.

[46]There seems to be a tendency for commonly used words to become increasingly vague the longer they are commonly used. The founders of E.T.S. in 1949 had certain implications in mind when they framed the brief E.T.S. doctrinal statement around the term "inerrancy." I have heard more than one of them affirm that one of the reasons E.T.S. was founded was to get away from a dehistoricizing approach to the Word of God. Thirty four years later the word does not carry the same implications to all who use it. However, if the authors of the E.T.S. doctrinal statement are banished when it comes to sorting out the implications of the statement, verbal anarchy or semantic autonomy will result. Here I am obviously applying the literary theory of E. D. Hirsch, Jr. See his *Validity in Interpretation* (New Haven and London: Yale University, 1967), pp. 1–23. Hirsch's view of meaning as a willed type, having boundaries and being reproducible (pp. 44–51) is an excellent insight. Applying his insights regarding the subconscious implications of an author's willed type of meaning (pp. 52–57) to the situation in E.T.S. is instructive. It is clear that historicity is a necessary implication for any orthodox view of the Bible and the events which it describes in its pages.

Evangelicals who confess inerrancy believe that the Bible is true in all that it affirms. The Bible's apparently historical affirmations must be viewed as historical unless there is convincing evidence from the Bible itself, interpreted in its historical context, which shows such apparently historical affirmations to be figures of speech. Gundry simply has not supplied convincing evidence for his "less historical" approach to Matthew. Thus it is legitimate to view his position as dangerous.

A second danger is that of a vigilante approach to these issues. When there is no official clarification of the implications of inerrancy upon the synoptic phenomena, evangelical schools and societies run the risk of confusing agreement on the doctrine of inerrancy with agreement on the interpretation of specific biblical problems. I personally believe that Gundry has not done justice to the historicity of Matthew, but it is also possible, as Gundry has warned, to read historical precision into biblical texts which do not warrant it. The complexities of the synoptic phenomena indicate that a brash, cavalier attitude about difficulties is not wise.[47] If it must be insisted that every historical assertion the Bible makes is true, it must likewise be insisted that only those historical assertions which the Bible really makes are true.

These two dangers underline the need for clarification of the implications of inerrancy for the synoptic phenomena. Gundry's approach appears to be doubtful both methodologically and theologically. However, only the theologically myopic will view Gundry's resignation from E.T.S. as a long-term victory for inerrancy. Much work remains to be done.

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[47]Gundry believes he detects such an attitude in Geisler. See Gundry's "Response," p. 95. I have argued that neither a dehistoricizing nor an overconfident approach is valid in a review of Archer's *Encyclopedia of Bible Difficulties* (*JETS* 26 [1983] 208–10).

THE ORIGIN AND HISTORY
OF THE SAMARITANS

Wayne A. Brindle

The development of Samaritanism and its alienation from Judaism was a process that began with the division of the kingdom of Israel, and continued through successive incidents which promoted antagonism, including the importation of foreign colonists into Samaria by Assyria, the rejection of the new Samaritan community by the Jews, the building of a rival temple on Mt. Gerizim, the political and religious opportunism of the Samaritans, and the destruction of both the Samaritan temple and their capital of Shechem by John Hyrcanus during the second century B.C. The Samaritan religion at the time of Jesus had become Mosaic and quasi-Sadducean, but strongly anti-Jewish. Jesus recognized their heathen origins and the falsity of their religious claims.

* * *

INTRODUCTION

RELATIONS between the Jews and the Samaritans were always strained. Jesus ben Sirach (ca. 180 B.C.) referred to the Samaritans as "the foolish people that dwell in Shechem" (Sir 50:26). There is a tradition that 300 priests and 300 rabbis once gathered in the temple court in Jerusalem to curse the Samaritans with all the curses in the Law of Moses. When the Jews wanted to curse Jesus Christ, they called him demon-possessed and a *Samaritan* in one breath (John 8:48).

The Samaritans are important to biblical studies for several reasons:[1] (1) They claim to be the remnant of the kingdom of Israel, specifically of the tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh, with priests of the line of Aaron/Levi. (2) They possess an ancient recension of the Pentateuch which is non-Masoretic and shows close relationship to a text type underlying both the LXX and some Hebrew manuscripts

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[1]Cf. Theodore H. Gaster, "Samaritans," *IDB*, 4.190; and James D. Purvis, *The Samaritan Pentateuch and the Origin of the Samaritan Sect* (Cambridge: Harvard University, 1968) 2–3.

among the Dead Sea Scrolls, and are therefore important both for
textual criticism of the OT as well as the study of the history of
Hebrew. (3) They appear several times in the NT, especially in Luke,
John, and Acts, and may provide the background for controversies
related in Ezra, Nehemiah, and other post-exilic writings. (4) They
provide much insight into the cosmopolitan nature of Palestinian
religion and politics before and at the time of Christ. (5) At one time
the community was large enough to exercise considerable influence in
Palestine, Egypt, Syria, and even Rome. (6) And they were important
enough to be a subject of controversy in Josephus and Rabbinic
literature (notable among which are many references in the Mishnah
and an extra tractate in the Talmud).

The principal questions addressed in this study are: (1) When
did the Samaritan sect come into existence as a distinct ethnic and
religious group, with its own traditions and teachings? and (2) What
was the development and history of the enmity between Samaritans
and Jews?

The sources for a history of the Samaritans are predominantly
anti-Samaritan: 2 Kings 17; Ezra and Nehemiah; Sir 50:25–26; 2 Macc
6:2; the Assyrian Annals of Sargon; the Elephantine Papyri; the
Mishnah; the Babylonian Talmud (*Masseket Kutim*); the New Testa-
ment (Matthew, Luke, John, Acts); and Josephus (especially *Ant* 9,
11, 12, 13, 18, 20).[2] Samaritan literature is largely late; the Samaritan
Pentateuch, however, though copied in the 14th century, dates back
in recensional form at least to the Hasmonean period (ca. 100–
150 b.c.). Many of its peculiarities reflect Samaritan religious ten-
dencies, and it is thus an early witness to their beliefs and claims.

The problem of sources is compounded by the fact that the name
"Samaritan" occurs only *once* in the OT (2 Kgs 17:29—translated in
the *NASB* as "the people of Samaria"), and there it refers *not* to the
"Samaritans" as they appear in the Talmud, Josephus, and the NT,
but rather to the people of the Northern Kingdom of Israel *before* its
captivity by Assyria! An accurate understanding of the Samaritans as
a religious people must therefore depend on much more than a simple
identification based on names and geography.

I. THEORIES OF SAMARITAN ORIGINS

The traditional theories of Samaritan origins are reduced by
Purvis to four basic positions:[3] (1) the view of the Samaritans them-
selves, that their movement is a perpetuation of the ancient Israelite

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[2] A. Gelston, "Samaritans," *New Bible Dictionary* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1962)
1132.

[3] James D. Purvis, *Samaritan Pentateuch*, 4–5.

faith as it was practised in the pre-monarchical period at Shechem
(ca. 1400–1100 B.C.); (2) the counterclaim of Judaism, that Samari-
tanism is a heresy derived from a corrupt worship of Yahweh which
developed in northern Palestine after the Assyrian conquest of that
area about 722 B.C.; (3) an interpretation based on Ezra, Nehemiah,
and Josephus, that the Samaritans broke away from the Jews in the
Persian period; and (4) the assertion that a Samaritan schism occurred
in the early Greek period.

All views demonstrate that there was a definite schism,[4] followed
by a long period of independent development of the two groups. The
Samaritans place the schism in the twelfth century B.C., at the time of
Eli. The Jews date it in the eighth century B.C.

Modern critics have tended to date the schism much later, but
most have retained the schism concept. Some scholars, however, have
begun to question this notion. As Coggins points out:

> Two points in particular have remained characteristic of many descrip-
> tions: the view of Samaritanism as a debased form of religion, contain-
> ing many syncretistic elements; and the notion of a schism—with its
> twofold connotation, of a definte break that took place at a specific
> moment in history, and of that break as implying the departure of the
> schismatic from the accepted norm. . . . It is hoped that it will become
> clear that neither of these features should be taken for granted as truly
> characteristic of the situation.[5]

Purvis stresses that "the so-called Samaritan schism, or withdrawal
from the mainstream of Judaism, was not so much an event as a
process—a process extending over several centuries and involving a
series of events which eventually brought about estrangement between
the two communities."[6] Historians have tended to select one event
and to declare that it was this that caused the emergence of the
Samaritan sect. They have also disagreed as to which element of
Samaritanism represents its crucial distinction from Judaism. The
Samaritans, for example, say that worship at Gerizim rather than
elsewhere has always been the determining factor. The Jews regard
the intermarriage of Assyrian colonists and northern Israelites and
the development of a syncretistic religion as the origin of the heresy.
Others refer to the erection of a temple on Mt. Gerizim, or the rejec-
tion of the post-Pentateuchal scriptures, as the crucial event.

The thesis of this article is that the origin of Samaritanism was
indeed a process—a process which began at least with the division of
the kingdom (by ca. 931 B.C.) and continued through each successive

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[4]R. J. Coggins, *Samaritans and Jews* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1975) 7.
[5]Ibid., 4.
[6]Purvis, *Samaritan Pentateuch*, 5.

incident, including the importation of foreign colonists and the building of the Gerizim temple, right up to their final excommunication by the Jews about A.D. 300. Thus even in NT times the process of estrangement was still going on, although the sect could surely be considered distinct once it had its own temple and worship on Gerizim.

Most modern critics tend to minimize the OT's witness to the origin of the Samaritan people and religion, assuming that such "Jewish" accounts are too prejudiced to be reliable. This attitude must be avoided, however, since the statements of Jesus Christ show that he also recognized the dubiousness of their origins and the falsehood of their religious claims.

II. THE SAMARITAN ACCOUNT

The Samaritans claim to be the true children of Israel, who have remained faithful to the Law of Moses.[7] The Torah in their hands is "the true, original and faultless Torah in all its sentences, pronunciations, and its style."[8]

The Samaritans claim to be descendants of the tribe of Joseph, and thus descendants of Ephraim and Manasseh. Their priests are from the house of Levi, descendants of Aaron. When Israel entered Palestine, Joshua established the center of his administration at Shechem, in the valley between Mount Gerizim and Mount Ebal.[9] The high priest at the time was Eleazar, son of Aaron, who also lived in Shechem. Six years after the entrance into the land, Joshua built the Tabernacle on Gerizim, where all worship of the Israelites was centered.

After Joshua's death there was a succession of kings (called שפטים, "judges," by the Jews), the last of whom was Samson. Eleazar was succeeded at Gerizim by Phinehas, Abishua, Shesha, Bacha, and Uzzi.

When Uzzi became high priest at the age of 23, Eli (a descendant of Ithamar rather than of Eleazar[10]), then 60 years old, was director of revenues and tithes and director of the sacrifices on the stone altar outside the Tabernacle.[11] Eli became rich through revenues and jealous of Uzzi, and he decided to take the high-priesthood away from Uzzi.

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[7]Jacob, Son of Aaron, "The History and Religion of the Samaritans," *BSac* 63 (1906) 393.

[8]Ibid.

[9]John MacDonald, *The Theology of the Samaritans* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1964) 16.

[10]Purvis, *Samaritan Pentateuch*, 88, n. 1.

[11]Jacob, "History," 395.

About the time of Eli, foreigners began to enter Israel and to teach the people sorcery and magic. Even a large number of priests learned it and left the ways of God. Eli was one of these, and he gathered a group of supporters. One day Uzzi the high priest rebuked Eli for some fault in his sacrificial work, and Eli with his followers immediately apostatized.[12] Some of Israel followed Uzzi (especially the tribes of Joseph), and some followed Eli (especially Judah and Benjamin).

Eli moved to Shiloh and took copies of the Law with him. There he made a counterfeit ark and tabernacle and set up a rival sanctuary. He claimed that God had commanded the tabernacle to be moved to Shiloh from Gerizim. A majority of the people of Israel began to follow Eli because of his sorcery, and a deep dissension began to grow between the two groups. Thus, for a time there were two sanctuaries and two priesthoods (one descended from Phinehas, the other from Ithamar), and the first division on religious grounds in Israel was created.[13] The Samaritans thereafter rejected the claims of the Ithamar branch of priests in favor of the sons of Phinehas. As a result of Eli's defection, Israel was split into three divisions: (1) the followers of Uzzi, the genuine high priest; (2) the followers of Eli; and (3) many of various tribes who lapsed into paganism.

This is the only schism that the Samaritans know.[14] Eli's act ended the era of divine favor (רְכוּתָה, "Rahuta") and initiated the age of divine wrath (פָּנוּתָה, "Panuta").

One day God told Uzzi to put all of the vessels and furniture of the tabernacle into a nearby cave, after which the cave miraculously closed up, engulfing the entire sanctuary. The next day, the cave and its contents completely disappeared (not to be found again until the Taheb or Messiah comes).[15]

About this time, Samuel, a descendant of Korah, came to live with Eli at Shiloh. Eli taught him all his evil ways, including sorcery and witchcraft. When Eli died, the people made Samuel their ruler. The Philistines took advantage of the corruption and division to attack Israel. The people demanded a king, so Samuel appointed Saul.

Saul determined to punish the tribes of Joseph because they did not follow Samuel's cult in Shiloh, so he went to Shechem and destroyed the remaining altar on Gerizim, killed the high priest Shisha (son of Uzzi), and destroyed many of the tribe.[16] They began to

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[12] Ibid., 397.
[13] MacDonald, *Theology*, 17.
[14] Purvis, *Samaritan Pentateuch*, 88, n. 1.
[15] MacDonald, *Theology*, 17.
[16] Jacob, "History," 406–7.

worship in their homes, and many moved to Bashan, east of the Sea of Galilee. But the Torah was kept in its original condition.

After Saul died, David came to Shechem and became king of all Israel. He captured Jabish (Jerusalem) and moved Eli's ark there. When David decided to build a temple in Jerusalem, the high priest at Gerizim, Yaire, told him that he would have to build it on Mt. Gerizim instead, according to the Torah. So David, who was a friend of this high priest (cf. 1 Sam 21:1–7) and had always offered his tithes at Gerizim, refrained from building the temple and left it for his son to do. Solomon built the temple in Jerusalem and led the people astray from God. Jeroboam later rebelled and led Israel even further astray. He made his capital in Sabastaba[17] (Sebaste, later called Samaria).

There were now three groups of Israelites: (1) the Samaritans, who kept themselves distinct from the rest and called themselves שֹׁמְרִים, keepers of the Law; (2) the Israelites of the north, who followed Jeroboam; and (3) the tribe of Judah, with a mixture of various other tribes, who followed the line of David.[18]

Assyria finally captured the Northern Kingdom and enslaved the people. An Assyrian named Samar controlled Sabastaba, and an Israelite (of the tribe of Joseph) bought the city and it became known as Samaria. Its inhabitants thus became known as Samaritans.[19]

Some of the followers of Uzzi were also taken into captivity by the Assyrians. Later, Nebuchadnezzar deported people from all tribes (including the tribe of Joseph) to Babylon. Foreigners immigrated to Israel in order to settle, but had problems with famine and wild beasts. So Cyrus sent the "Samaritan" high priest Abdullah (or Abdel[20]), along with a host of descendants of Joseph, back to the Land. Abdullah wanted to build a sanctuary on Gerizim, but Zerubbabel the Jew wanted to rebuild in Jerusalem. Abdullah appealed to the Torah, whereas the Jews appealed to David and Solomon. Cyrus sided with the Samaritans, honored Sanballat their governor, and allowed many from the tribe of Joseph to return and to build a temple on Gerizim.

Enmity between the tribes of Joseph and Judah continued to grow. Zerubbabel bribed the King of Persia to allow the Jews to build a temple in Jerusalem, but the Samaritans then received permission to destroy what they had built. This caused yet greater division.

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[17] Ibid., 414; actually, it was Herod the Great who gave it the name Sebaste, which is Greek for Augustus.

[18] MacDonald, *Theology*, 18.

[19] Jacob, "History," 415.

[20] Ay. L., "Samaritans," *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 14.728.

Ezra (the "accursed Ezra"[21]) finally obtained a second decree (through Esther and by means of witchcraft) from King Ashoresh (Ahasuerus) to rebuild the temple and the city of Jerusalem and to exercise authority over all the Land. Since the Jews had lost the Torah and all their books, Ezra began to collect legends and narratives and invented many things which never occurred. He falsely claimed (in 2 Kings 17) that the Samaritans were Gentiles with false gods (cf. Ezra 4). He also invented the idea, popular among later rabbis, that the Samaritans call Ashina (or Ashima) their god, whereas in reality they simply substitute the word "Shimeh" (from שֵׁם, "name") for YHWH, in the same way that the Jews use the substitution word, אֲדֹנָי, "Adonai").[22] Ezra wrote in the "Assyrian" language (Aramaic), whereas the Samaritans retained Hebrew. Ezra was wicked and corrupted the Jews even more, and by persecutions and lies caused much of the hatred between the Jews and Samaritans. These persecutions kept the Samaritan nation small, but Samaritans still claim to carry out the ancient customs according to the Mosaic Law.[23]

Thus, Judaism is an extension of Eli's heresy through Samuel, Saul, David, the Judean monarchy, and Ezra, with the rival cult shifting from Shiloh to Jerusalem and later developing a complete tradition on which to base it. The true Samaritan claims were dismissed with slander and persecution.

Several things may be said concerning this account by the Samaritans of their own history. Purvis declares that "to accept the Samaritan claim at face value would be extraordinarily naive."[24] Most of their sources are extremely late, although their later chronicles do make use of earlier ones.[25]

In their favor, however, is the fact that at regular intervals before the divided monarchy, all twelve tribes gathered at Shechem to worship their common God.[26] It was to Shechem that Rehoboam went to be anointed king of all Israel (1 Kgs 12:1). Jeroboam built up Shechem as his first capital (1 Kgs 12:25). Gerizim was mentioned as a sacred mountain in Deuteronomy (11:29; 27:12), whereas Jerusalem and Mt. Zion were chosen much later.

Jeroboam also corrupted the priesthood by making priests of non-Levites (1 Kgs 12:31; 2 Chr 13:9). It may be questioned whether any of the legitimate priests decided to separate from Jeroboam's

[21]Gaster, "Samaritans," 191.

[22]Jacob, "History," 424.

[23]Ibid., 426.

[24]Purvis, *Samaritan Pentateuch*, 92.

[25]Ibid., 90.

[26]Salo W. Baron, *A Social and Religious History of the Jews*, 2nd ed. (New York: Columbia University, 1952) 1.61.

apostate system in order to preserve the true worship of Yahweh. (Such priests may have simply gone south to Jerusalem, however.) It is not known whether the priesthood in northern Israel survived the Assyrian conquest.[27] But it does seem certain that "only a very small percentage of the Samaritan, or northern Israelite, people were exiled, to judge from Sargon's own account, and he makes no mention of any religious groups."[28]

All of these factors may be explained by the assumption that when the Samaritan sect finally developed its own identity and organization (during the last centuries B.C.), it was forced to reinterpret Israelite history in order to validate its claims to be the true remnant of Israel. The peculiarities of the Samaritan Pentateuch (which seem to be rather transparent alterations) also support this hypothesis. The progress of divine revelation in both testaments also supports this view, for, as Jesus himself said, "Salvation is from the Jews" (John 4:22).

III. THE ORIGIN OF THE SAMARITAN PEOPLE

The Name "Samaritan"

About 875 B.C., Omri founded the city of Samaria on a hill about seven miles northwest of Shechem.[29] He bought the hill from a man named Shemer for two talents of silver, built a fortified city, and called it Samaria (שׁוֹמְרוֹן), after the name of the previous owner (1 Kgs 16:24). Shemer was apparently a widespread clan name in Israel.[30]

Samaria became the capital of the northern kingdom and remained the capital until its destruction by Alexander the Great (ca. 332 B.C.). The capital soon gave its name to the entire nation (cf. 1 Kgs 13:32; Hos 8:5; Amos 3:9; Isa 9:9–12). Subsequently, the nation gave its name to its inhabitants, the Samarians.

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[27] Ay. L., "Samaritans," 727.

[28] John Bright, *A History of Israel*, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1972) 236; G. Ernest Wright, *Biblical Archaeology* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1957) 152; James L. Kelso, "Samaria, City of," *Zondervan Pictorial Encyclopedia of the Bible*, 5.232. The date is not certain; cf. Eugene H. Merrill, *An Historical Survey of the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1966) 251; Gaalyah Cornfeld and David N. Freedman, *Archaeology of the Bible: Book by Book* (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1976) 119; Edwin R. Thiele, *The Mysterious Numbers of the Hebrew Kings*, rev. ed. (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1983) 36, 88, who, among others, would date the founding of Samaria ca. 880 B.C.

[29] James L. Kelso, "Samaria, City of," *Zondervan Pictorial Encyclopedia of the Bible*, (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1975) 5.232.

[30] James A. Montgomery, *The Samaritans* (New York: Ktav, 1968) 317.

Yet the name שׁוֹמְרוֹנִים ("Samaritans") occurs only once in the entire OT (2 Kgs 17:29), and there it refers not to the so-called "mixed race" who appear in the NT, but rather to the former inhabitants of Samaria, many of whom were carried off into exile. As Unger states:

> It is customary to refer "Samaritans" in this passage to the colonists brought by the king of Assyria in place of the deported Israelites; but the text seems rather to mean that these colonists put their gods into the houses of the high places which the "Samaritans," i.e., the former inhabitants of Samaria, had made for their own religious use . . . .[31]

Indeed, Coggins claims that "there are no unambiguous references to the Samaritans in the Hebrew Old Testament."[32] The LXX has Σαμαρειται, again only at 2 Kgs 17:29. This word also occurs in Josephus and the NT, and from it the English form is derived.

The more usual name found in Josephus and the Talmud is *Kutim* or Cutheans, which refers to one of the groups of foreign colonists mentioned in 2 Kgs 17:24, 30. This name, of course, emphasizes the supposed heathen origins and syncretistic practice of the Samaritans. Another name used several times by Josephus is "Shechemites" (Σικιμιται),[33] a name which refers to their principal city. Josephus also says that the Samaritans of the Hellenistic period called themselves "Sidonians in Shechem" when they wanted to dissociate themselves from the Jews and win the support of Antiochus Epiphanes.[34]

On the other hand, the Samaritans themselves do not use these designations at all. Usually they call themselves "Israel."[35] But they also frequently use the term שָׁמְרִים[36] or שָׁמְרִין,[37] which they contend means "keepers" or "observers" of the truth, the Law of God, derived from the verb שָׁמַר (to guard or observe). The use of this term is admitted early, since it was known by Epiphanus (A.D. 375) and Origen (ca. A.D. 240).[38] Ewing suggests that a derivative of שָׁמַר would

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[31]Merrill F. Unger, *Unger's Bible Dictionary*, 3rd ed. (Chicago: Moody, 1966) 958.

[32]Coggins, *Samaritans*, 9.

[33]Josephus, *Ant.* 11.8.6.

[34]Josephus, *Ant.* 11.8.6; 12.5.5.

[35]Coggins, *Samaritans*, 10.

[36]Ay. L., "Samaritans," 728.

[37]Shemaryahu Talmon, "The Samaritans," *Scientific American* (January, 1977) 104.

[38]Epiphanius, *Panarion* 9.1; Origen, *Homily on Ezekiel* 9.1–5; *Commentary on John* 20.35; cf. G. W. H. Lampe, ed., *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1961) 1222; N. R. M. de Lange, *Origen and the Jews* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1976) 36; Coggins, *Samaritans*, 11.

have fit even the city of Samaria in the sense of "outlook," since it had a commanding view of the Plain of Sharon.[39]

The suggestion has also been made that there is an allusion to the Samaritan self-designation in 2 Chr 13:11, where King Abijah of Judah condemns the Northern Israelites with the phrase "we are keepers [שׁוֹמְרִים] of the charge of the Lord our God, but you have forsaken Him."[40] This speech comes shortly after the division of the kingdom in Chronicles and perhaps may be seen as Abijah's declaration of the "Jewish monopoly of salvation."[41] Abijah also emphasizes the true priesthood at Jerusalem, contrasting it with the illegitimate priesthood of Northern Israel which served false gods. The suggestion of some critics is that the author of Chronicles inserted or used this allusion as a polemic against the Samaritan system of his own day.[42]

The use of the term here is striking, but in the complete absence of other evidence, it is doubtful that the technical use of the term was current at such an early date. It is more likely that the connection with "keeping" the law was a reaction against the pejorative use of the name "Samaritan" by the Jews in Rabbinic or later times.

The Samaritan People

When Jeroboam declared himself king of Israel, his kingdom included the entire northern two-thirds of the earlier kingdom of Solomon, from Bethel in the south to Dan in the north, with authority stretching probably to the Euphrates River (1 Kgs 4:24).[43] This dominion was quickly lost,[44] however, and during the Assyrian invasions of the ninth and eighth centuries B.C., Israel lost progressively more territory.[45] Finally in 722/21 B.C., the city of Samaria was taken after a three year siege.[46]

> The fall of Samaria . . . marked a new era in the history of the northern kingdom. The leading citizens were deported by Sargon, while exiles from other parts of the Assyrian Empire were imported by Sargon, Esarhaddon, and Ashurbanipal.[47]

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[39] W. Ewing, "Samaria," *ISBE* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1939) 4.2671.

[40] Coggins, *Samaritans*, 11.

[41] Ibid.

[42] Ibid.

[43] Yohanan Aharoni and Michael Avi-Yonah, *The MacMillan Bible Atlas* (New York: MacMillan, 1968) 68.

[44] Ibid., 76.

[45] Ibid., 86–97.

[46] Ewing, "Samaritans," 2672.

[47] A. Gelston, "Samaritans," *The New Bible Dictionary* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1962) 1131.

Sargon carried off 27,290 people, as he recounted in his annals,[48] probably mostly influential people from the city of Samaria itself. Yamauchi estimates that 500,000 to 700,000 people lived in Israel at this time.[49] Thus Sargon neither desolated nor depopulated the land; he merely took away its independence and its leading citizens. In 720 B.C. Samaria, together with Arpad, Simyra, and Damascus, joined in a revolt against Assyria headed by Hamath.[50] It is likely that large-scale deportations were carried out by Sargon as a result of this and similar revolts.[51]

According to 2 Kgs 17:24, "the king of Assyria brought men from Babylon and from Cuthah and from Avva and from Hamath and Sephar-vaim, and settled them in the cities of Samaria in place of the sons of Israel." If these were limited mainly to the vicinity of the city of Samaria, this would account well for the fact that the Galilee of NT times remained a Jewish region.[52]

The conquests of several of these nations were referred to later, in 701 B.C., by Rabshakeh when he taunted the people of Jerusalem with these words:

> Has any one of the gods of the nations delivered his land from the hand of the king of Assyria? Where are the gods of Hamath and Arpad? Where are the gods of Sepharvaim, Hena and Ivvah? Have they delivered Samaria from my hand? (2 Kgs 18:33–34; cf. Isa 36:18–20)

Additional colonists were imported by Esarhaddon about 680 B.C. and by Ashurbanipal about 669–630 B.C.[53] Many of these peoples kept their separate identities for several generations, as is shown by their statement to Zerubbabel (ca. 535 B.C.) that "we have been sacrificing to Him [Yahweh God] since the days of Esarhaddon king of Assyria, who brought us up here" (Ezra 4:2).

It is indeed important to recognize that the question of the national heritage of the Samaritans is to some extent distinct from the question of their religion (which will be considered below). However, modern critics have tended to adopt the misguided view that

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[48] *ANET*, 284–85; cf. Wright, *Archaeology*, 162; Bright, *History*, 274.

[49] Edwin Yamauchi, "The Archaeological Background of Ezra," *BSac* 137 (1980) 195. Coggins (*Samaritans*, 17) estimates a deportation of between 3% and 4% of the population.

[50] Bright, *History*, 274; Unger, *Dictionary*, 958.

[51] Coggins, *Samaritans*, 17.

[52] Unger, *Dictionary*, 958; cf. Ezra 4:10.

[53] Ibid.; Herbert Donner, "The Separate States of Israel and Judah," in *Israelite and Judaean History*, eds. John H. Hayes and J. Maxwell Miller (OTL; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1977) 434; Siegfried Herrmann, *A History of Israel in Old Testament Times*, trans. John Bowden (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1975) 251; Thiele, *Numbers*, 178.

2 Kings 17 says nothing about the origin of the Samaritans.[54] It will
be shown below that the rejection of these people by Zerubbabel,
Ezra, and Nehemiah because of their heathen ancestry and the begin-
ning of the worship on Gerizim because of the same kind of rejection
by the Jews are but two milestones in the process of the development
of the Samaritan sect.

That the Samaritan people did have their origin with these im-
portations of foreigners by Assyria into the region of Samaria is
shown conclusively by three statements made by Jesus: (1) Matt
10:5–6: "Do not go in the way of the Gentiles, and do not enter any
city of the Samaritans; but rather go to the lost sheep of the house of
Israel." The promise of salvation was first to the entire seed of
Abraham, to the whole house of Israel. Clearly Jesus did not consider
the Samaritans (perhaps the "cities of the Samaritans" were not
synonymous with the province of Samaria, but were certain cities
which were predominantly Samaritan—cf. Luke 9:52) to be part of
the "house of Israel" (though not quite Gentiles, either). And this was
despite the fact that they then worshiped the God of Moses and kept
the pure Law even more stringently than the Jews. This fits well with
taking 2 Kings 17 as the description of their origin.

(2) Luke 17:18: Jesus calls the Samaritan who returned to thank
him for healing him a "foreigner" (ἀλλογενής). In view of Jesus'
comments elsewhere concerning the Samaritans, it is doubtful that he
would use such a designation simply to accommodate popular Jewish
opinion. He obviously considered Samaritans to some extent non-
Israelites, not simply sectarians or heretics.

(3) John 4:22: "salvation is from the Jews." This statement was
intended to show the accuracy of genuine Jewish faith as against the
Samaritan system. But it also shows that Jesus distinguished between
the national origins of Jews and Samaritans, for he would never have
made such a distinction with Galileans.

IV. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SAMARITAN RELIGION

The roots of the enmity between Jews and Samaritans go back to
the antagonism between the north and the south.[55] But this was only
one of the tensions within Judaism (in a Palestinian sense) from
which Samaritanism sprang.

Foreign Settlers and Foreign Gods

When the foreign settlers from Syria and Mesopotamia began to
colonize Samaria, a problem developed. As 2 Kgs 17:25–33 puts it:

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[54]Cf. Coggins, *Samaritans*, 15.
[55]Reinhard Pummer, "The Present State of Samaritan Studies," *JSS* 21 (1976) 52;
cf. Coggins, *Samaritans*, 81; Purvis, *Samaritan Pentateuch*, 9, n. 13.

And it came about at the beginning of their living there, that they did
not fear the Lord; therefore the Lord sent lions among them which
killed some of them. So they spoke to the king of Assyria, saying, "The
nations whom you have carried away into exile in the cities of Samaria
do not know the custom of the god of the land; so he has sent lions
among them, and behold, they kill them because they do not know the
custom of the god of the land."

Then the king of Assyria commanded, saying, "Take there one of
the priests whom you carried away into exile, and let him go and live
there; and let him teach them the custom of the god of the land." So
one of the priests whom they had carried away into exile from Samaria
came and lived at Bethel, and taught them how they should fear the
Lord. But every nation still made gods of its own and put them in the
houses of the high places which the people of Samaria had made, every
nation in their cities in which they lived. And the men of Babylon made
Succoth-benoth, the men of Cuth made Nergal, the men of Hamath
made Ashima, and the Avvites made Nibhaz and Tartak; and the
Sepharvites burned their children in the fire to Adrammelech and
Anammelech the gods of Sepharvaim. They also feared the Lord and
appointed from among themselves priests of the high places, who acted
for them in the houses of the high places. They feared the Lord and
served their own gods according to the custom of the nations from
among whom they had been carried away into exile.

Thus, as Montgomery says, "According to this narrative, the
early Samaritan religion was syncretistic, that is, a mixture of different
elements, having arisen from the amalgamation of the ancient religion
of Northern Israel with the heathen cults which the Assyrian colonists
had brought with them to their new home."[56] At first the new peoples
still worshiped their own gods, but in the course of time they inter-
mingled with one another and with the native Israelites of Samaria.[57]
They learned from the Israelite priest and soon adopted the worship
of Yahweh along with their old gods.

Tadmor relates that "the Assyrians regarded it as a primary state
function to unify the heterogeneous ethnic elements in the main cities
of the kingdom and the provinces and to turn them into cohesive
local units within an Assyrianized society."[58] Thus, as time went on,
and at least by the third century B.C., there came into being a new
ethnic and religious entity (apart from the Hellenists introduced by
Alexander and the Seleucids), the "kernel of what later became known
as the Samaritans."[59]

[56]James A. Montgomery, "Were the Samaritans Worthy or Unworthy?" *The
Sunday School Times* 48 (1906) 383.

[57]H. Tadmor, "The Period of the First Temple, the Babylonian Exile and the
Restoration," in *A History of the Jewish People*, edited by H. H. Ben-Sasson (Cam-
bridge, MA: Harvard, 1976) 137.

[58]Ibid.

[59]Ibid.

It is here that a serious problem arises. On the one hand, 2 Kings 17 definitely implies the development of a syncretistic religion (cf. v 33: "they feared the Lord and served their own gods"). But on the other hand, as Kelso expresses it, "Samaritan theology shows no sign of the influence of paganism among the colonists sent by the Assyrians."[60]

What is the solution to this paradox? Gaster refuses to harmonize the two:

> The most plausible conclusion is, then, that after the fall of Samaria in 722, the local population consisted of two distinct elements living side by side—viz., (a) the remnant of the native Israelites; and (b) the foreign colonists. For tendentious reasons, however, the Jewish version ignores the former; the Samaritan version, the latter.[61]

It is the opinion of this writer that the religious situation in Samaria moved through several phases from 722 B.C. to the Christian era: (1) At first the Israelites and the foreigners co-existed side by side; (2) when the teaching priest arrived (2 Kgs 17:28), the religion of the colonists almost immediately became syncretistic with Yahwism; (3) during the religious campaigns of Hezekiah and Josiah and thereafter, the bulk of the population of Samaria became more and more Yahwistic in the Jewish sense, although much of the foreign element failed to give up its gods (2 Kgs 17:41); (4) when the Samaritan temple on Mt. Gerizim was built (ca. 332 B.C.),[62] the priest Manasseh actively began to teach the Samaritan people a strict Yahwism based on the Torah and to develop a more sectarian, but conservative and quasi-Sadducean, religious system, with an active temple worship; (5) after the destruction of the Samaritan temple about 128 B.C., the Samaritans put even more emphasis upon the Law, and their particular brand of theology began to solidify in conjunction with the Samaritan Pentateuch and their anti-Jewish attitudes and conduct.

Though some of the foregoing is conjecture, the scheme fits the facts of Scripture and the nature and history of the sect. It hinges on references in the Bible and elsewhere to an ongoing teaching ministry among the Samaritans.

The teaching priest

Some have thought that any priest from the Northern Kingdom would be syncretistic or pagan in outlook, since the religious system

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[60] James L. Kelso, "Samaritans," *Zondervan Pictorial Encyclopedia of the Bible*, 5.245; Gaster, "Samaritans," 192.

[61] Gaster, "Samaritans," 192.

[62] Josephus, *Ant.* 11.8.4.

founded by Jeroboam introduced idol-worship. It is not certain, however, that Jeroboam intended to substitute idolatry for the worship of Yahweh. Wood contends that "the intent was still to worship Yahweh, but in a new way."[63] As Unger points out, the schism was more political than religious, and Jeroboam's purpose was not to separate Israel from the true God, but from Jerusalem and the Davidic succession.[64]

Many scholars note that this was not necessarily a change of religion. De Vaux, for example, thinks that "the God Jeroboam asked his subjects to adore was Yahweh who had brought Israel out of Egypt."[65]

> The novelty lies in the cultic symbol, the 'golden calves.' . . . They were wooden statues covered with gold plate. It seems certain that these statues were not thought of, originally, as representations of Yahweh. In the primitive religions of Asia Minor, Mesopotamia and Egypt, the sacred animal is not the god and is not confused with the god; it merely embodies his attributes, is an ornament of his throne or a support for it, or a footstool for his use. There are several examples extant of gods riding on the animal which is their symbol. The Temple of Jerusalem had the Ark, and the Cherubim above it formed the throne of Yahweh; Jeroboam needed something similar for the sanctuaries he founded, and he made the 'golden calves' as the throne for the invisible godhead.[66]

Archaeologists are in general agreement. Albright was an early supporter of the idea that "Jeroboam represented Yahweh as an invisible figure standing on a young bull of gold."[67] He points to cylinder seals of the second millennium B.C. on which the storm-god of Mesopotamia is represented as a schematic bolt of lightning set upright on the back of a bull.[68]

Wright agrees that for Jeroboam the golden calves (or bulls) "may have been the pedestal on which the invisible Lord was thought

[63]Leon Wood, *A Survey of Israel's History* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1970) 304; cf. C. F. Keil, *The Books of the Kings*, trans. James Martin (Biblical Commentary on the Old Testament, reprint; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1950) 198.

[64]Unger, *Dictionary*, 958.

[65]R. de Vaux, *Ancient Israel*, vol. 2 (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1961) 333.

[66]Ibid., 333–34; cf. Donner, "Separate States," 387–88; note 1 Sam 4:4 and 2 Sam 6:2, where Yahweh is said to be "enthroned above the cherubim."

[67]William F. Albright, *From the Stone Age to Christianity*, 2nd ed. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1957) 299; cf. Merrill (*Survey*, 248), who states that "these calves certainly were not images of Yahweh, but only representations of the throne upon which Yahweh stood."

[68]Albright, *Stone Age*, 300; cf. Albright, *Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan* (London: University of London, 1968; reprint; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1978) 197–98; *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1956) 156.

to stand."[69] As an example he refers to a carving from northern Syria (8th century B.C.) picturing the storm-god Hadad (Baal) standing on the back of a bull.

Whatever the origin and intention of the golden calves, it is clear that they were a serious offense to God[70] and represented a grave danger to the continued worship of Yahweh in Israel.[71] The bull was the animal which symbolized Baal, and the mass of people would confuse the "bull of Yahweh" and the "bull of Baal."[72] The door was thus opened to syncretism and idolatry. According to Wood, "Jeroboam's innovation made the later introduction of Baal worship into the land under Ahab and Jezebel (1 Kgs 16:30–33) much easier."[73]

The prophet Ahijah condemned these "molten images" (1 Kgs 14:9). Jeroboam is said to have sacrificed to the calves as though they were gods (1 Kgs 12:32).[74] His great sin, shared by all his successors (cf. 2 Kgs 10:29) and the people of Israel (2 Kgs 17:8, 12, 16, 21, 22), consisted especially in setting up these images. More broadly, however, Jeroboam violated God's law in four principal ways:[75] (1) he changed the symbols of worship, introducing images associated with pagan worship clearly prohibited by God[76] (Exod 34:17); (2) he changed the center of worship (1 Kgs 12:29–30), away from God's appointed center; (3) he changed the priesthood, abandoning the chosen tribe of Levi (1 Kgs 12:31; 13:33; 2 Chr 13:9); and (4) he changed the schedule of feasts (1 Kgs 12:33).

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[69] Wright, *Archaeology*, 147; cf. Bright, *History*, 234; W. Eichrodt, *Theology of the Old Testament*, vol. 1, trans. J. A. Baker (OTL; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1961) 117.

[70] Wood, *History*, 305.

[71] Bright, *History*, 234; R. K. Harrison (*Old Testament Times* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1970] 210) contends that Jeroboam was essentially an apostate who created a thoroughly pagan system.

[72] De Vaux, *Ancient Israel*, 2.334; Wright, *Archaeology*, 148; cf. Eichrodt (*Theology*, vol. 2 (1964) 22, n. 1), who is among many who contend that the bull-image of Jeroboam had nothing to do with the Egyptian bull-cult of Memphis.

[73] Wood, *History*, 305; cf. Shalom M. Paul and William G. Dever, eds., *Biblical Archaeology* (Jerusalem: Keter, 1973) 270.

[74] Jeroboam's declaration, "Behold your gods, O Israel, that brought you up from the land of Egypt" (1 Kgs 12:28) is probably meant to refer directly to an identical statement by the Israelites in Exod 32:4. There they "worshiped" a golden calf and "sacrificed" to it, for which God desired to kill them (32:8–10). God called Aaron's calf a "god of gold" (32:31), and Paul later referred to this incident when he related God's judgment of some Israelites as "idolaters" (1 Cor 10:7). It is noteworthy, however, that Jeroboam's system is not specifically called "idolatry" in either Kings or Chronicles, and whether Jeroboam intended to copy Aaron's sin is not clear.

[75] Cf. John J. Davis and John C. Whitcomb, *A History of Israel* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1980) 359.

[76] James A. Montgomery, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Kings* (ICC; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1951) 257, n. 4.

The outcome of these changes was that many of the priests and Levites of the North migrated to the South (2 Chr 11:14–16). However, even at the peak of Baal-worship in Israel, at least 7,000 men were still following the true God (1 Kgs 19:18).

The point here is that Jeroboam's religious system was not necessarily designed to turn the people away from Yahweh to idolatry and paganism. It is possible that the worship of Yahweh continued in Israel even among the priesthood and that the teaching priest of 2 Kings 17 may have helped to introduce a Mosaic Yahwism to the foreign settlers.[77] Both the priest and the settlers recognized that the "god of the land" was Yahweh. At the very least, he taught them to "fear the LORD" (2 Kgs 17:28), and his teaching had some effect (v 32).

The Kings of Judah

Montgomery assumes that the teaching priest had the benevolent assistance of Hezekiah.[78] Gelston contends that the Israelites who were left after the Assyrian deportation formed the core of the new Samarian community and, "despite the introduction of various cults, guaranteed the continuity of the worship of Yahweh."[79] Closer relations, he believes, were maintained with Judah before and after the fall of Jerusalem in 586 B.C.

At any rate, about 715 B.C. Hezekiah issued an invitation to all of Israel, from Dan to Beersheba, to come to Jerusalem to celebrate the Passover together (2 Chr 30:1, 5–6). Many people, especially of Ephraim and Manasseh, mocked the messengers (v 10), but many others attended (from Asher, Manasseh, Zebulon, Ephraim, and Issachar—vv 11, 18). A revival took place, and the people went out to destroy all the high places and altars throughout Ephraim and Manasseh (2 Chr 31:1).

Josiah (ca. 622 B.C.) initiated another revival, and 2 Chr 34:9 records that contributions were received "from Manasseh and Ephraim, and from all the remnant of Israel." Jeremiah records a visit of 80 men from Shechem, Shiloh, and Samaria (the chief cities of Samaria) who came on the day after the murder of Gedaliah (586 B.C.) "with their beards shaved off and their clothes torn and their bodies gashed, having grain offerings and incense in their hands to bring to the house of the Lord" (Jer 41:4–5). Evidently the reforms of Hezekiah and Josiah had made some lasting inroads into the north.[80]

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[77] Cf. Keil, *Kings*, 423–27.

[78] Montgomery, *Kings*, 473.

[79] Gelston, "Samaritans," 1131.

[80] Purvis, *Samaritan Pentateuch*, 9.

Both Jeremiah and Ezekiel understood God's plans as including
all Israel: "Again you shall plant vineyards on the hills of Samaria; . . .
For there shall be a day when watchmen on the hills of Ephraim shall
call out, 'Arise, and let us go up to Zion, to the Lord our God'"
(Jer 31:5–6); "For I am a father to Israel, and Ephraim is my first-
born" (Jer 31:9); "Say to them 'Thus says the Lord God, "Behold, I
will take the stick of Joseph, which is in the hand of Ephraim, and
the tribes of Israel, his companions; and I will put them with it, with
the stick of Judah, and make them one stick, and they will be one in
My hand"'" (Ezek 37:19). God's plans thus include the remnant and
exile of Israel as well as Judah.

Manasseh and the Samaritan Temple

It will be shown below that a crucial factor in the "Judaizing"
of the Samaritans was the erection of the Samaritan temple on
Mt. Gerizim and the creation of the Samaritan high-priesthood by
Manasseh, Jewish son-in-law of Sanballat III. Modern critics usually
recognize that Samaritanism shows a strong dependence on and
indebtedness to post-exilic Judaism.[81] Cross indicates that

> it is evident that the religion of Samaria derived from Judaism. Its
> feasts and law, conservatism toward Torah and theological develop-
> ment, show few survivals from the old Israelite religion as distinct from
> Judean religion, and no real evidence of religious syncretism. Even the
> late Jewish apocalyptic has left a firm imprint on Samaritanism.[82]

Such a perspective allows one to explain not only Samaritanism's
conservative (Pentateuchal) Jewishness, but also its early striking
similarities to the priestly Sadducees.

The foreign gods

Before leaving the subject of the foreign colonists, it will perhaps
be instructive to note whence they came and what kind of religions
they brought to Samaria. According to 2 Kgs 17:24, the settlers came
from Babylon, Cuthah, Avva, Hamath, and Sepharvaim (the location
of Avva is unknown, but may be identical with the Ivvah of 2 Kgs
18:34,[83] which is also unknown).

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[81]Ibid.
[82]Frank M. Cross, "Aspects of Samaritan and Jewish History in Late Persian and
Hellenistic Times," *HTR* 59 (1966) 205–6.
[83]"Avva," *ISBE*, 1.340.

Babylon was defeated by Sargon II in 710 B.C. and again by Sennacherib in 703, 700, and 695.[84] Tadmor feels that it was Sennacherib, being anti-Babylonian, who carried off people from Babylon and Cuthah to Samaria.[85]

Cuthah was also one of the most important cities of Babylonia, situated about twenty miles northeast of Babylon.[86] It was destroyed by Sennacherib. Apparently these deportees were predominant among the colonists, for the Samaritans were long called Cutheans by the Jews.

Hamath was a city of Syria about 125 miles north of Damascus, on the Orontes River. Sargon II destroyed it in 720 B.C.[87] Sepharvaim was probably a Syrian town captured by Shalmaneser also called Shabarain,[88] located between Hamath and Damascus.[89]

Seven gods are listed among the religious/cultural baggage of the immigrants. (1) Succoth-Benoth means "tabernacles or booths of girls" in Hebrew. It has been identified with Sarpanitu, the consort of Marduk, god of Babylon.[90] She also appears as the "seed-creating one." (2) Nergal was the god of pestilence, disease, and various other calamities.[91] He was worshipped with his consort Ereshkigal at Cuthah. Temples at other sites (Larsa, Isin, Assur, etc.) were also dedicated to him. (3) Nothing is known of Ashima, though the suggestion has been made that it is a corruption of Asherah the Canaanite mother-goddess.[92] (4) Nibhaz perhaps refers to a "deified altar."[93] On the other hand, it may have been worshiped in the form of an ass.[94] (5) Tartak is possibly a corruption of Atargatis, a goddess worshiped in Mesopotamia.[95] (6) Adrammelech means "Adar is

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[84] Donald J. Wiseman, "Babylon, OT," *ZPEB*, 1.444; cf. Merrill, *Survey*, 278; Bright, *History*, 285.

[85] Tadmor, "Period," 137.

[86] R. Clyde Ridall, "Cuthah," *ZPEB*, 1.1050; cf. John Gray, *I & II Kings*, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1970) 651; Montgomery, *Kings*, 472.

[87] Gray, *Kings*, 651; Steven Barabas, "Hamath," *ZPEB*, 3.22.

[88] Montgomery, *Kings*, 472; Gray, *Kings*, 652; Andrew Bowling, "Sepharvaim," *ZPEB*, 5.342; cf. Albright, *Yahweh*, 241.

[89] T. G. Pinches, "Sepharvaim," *ISBE*, 4.2722.

[90] Gray, *Kings*, 654; Montgomery, *Kings*, 473; Harvey E. Finley, "Succoth-Benoth," *ZPEB*, 5.529.

[91] Albright, *Yahweh*, 139; Larry L. Walker, "Nergal," *ZPEB*, 4.410; cf. Gray, *Kings*, 654; Herrmann, *History*, 251.

[92] Duncan McIntosh, "Ashima," *ISBE*, 1979 ed., 1.318.

[93] Gray, *Kings*, 654; Wilber B. Wallis, "Nibhaz," *ZPEB*, 4.434; Montgomery, *Kings*, 474.

[94] Steven Barabas, "Tartak," *ZPEB*, 5.603.

[95] Ibid.

king,"[96] and may be related to the god Athtar—Venus Star (Atar-Milki).[97] (7) Anammelech means "Anu is king." Anu was the great sky-god of Babylonia.[98] The latter two gods were Syrian or Canaanite deities,[99] and their worship included the offering of children as burnt offerings (2 Kgs 17:31).

As was mentioned above, there is no sign of the worship of these deities in later Samaritanism. Though their influence continued among many of the foreign families even to the time of the Babylonian captivity of Judah (2 Kgs 17:41), this does not imply an inherent syncretism among the Samaritans of NT times.

Zerubbabel, Ezra, and Nehemiah

When the Jewish exiles had returned to Jerusalem and laid the foundation for the second temple (ca. 535 B.C.), the descendants of the foreign colonists came to Jerusalem and asked to take part, claiming that they were true worshipers of Yahweh. Ezra relates the incident as follows:

> Now when the enemies of Judah and Benjamin heard that the people of the exile were building a temple to the Lord God of Israel, they approached Zerubbabel and the heads of fathers' households, and said to them, "Let us build with you, for we, like you, seek your God; and we have been sacrificing to Him since the days of Esarhaddon king of Assyria, who brought us up here." But Zerubbabel and Jeshua and the rest of the heads of father's households of Israel said to them, "You have nothing in common with us in building a house to our God; but we ourselves will together build to the Lord God of Israel, as King Cyrus, the king of Persia has commanded us." (Ezra 4:1–3)

Thus began another round of conflict between the people of Samaria (cf. Ezra 4:10) and the Jews. The former are here called "enemies of Judah and Benjamin" (v 1). This does not imply that they were considered enemies before their later attempt to stop the construction of the temple and the city. Unger notes that "in the refusal no charge of hypocrisy was made against them."[100] It was only that

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[96]Willis J. Beecher, "Adrammelech," *ISBE*, 1.61.

[97]Gray, *Kings*, 654; Andrew K. Helmbold, "Adrammelech," *ZPEB*, 1.64; but cf. Albright, *Yahweh*, 241.

[98]William W. Hallo and William K. Simpson, *The Ancient Near East: A History* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc., 1971) 170; Gray, *Kings*, 655; Steven Barabas, "Anammelech," *ZPEB*, 1.153.

[99]William Sanford LaSor, "Anammelech," *ISBE*, 1979 ed., 1.120.

[100]Unger, *Dictionary*, 959; Bright, however, regards their religion as "surely somewhat synchretistic" (*History*, 383). Perhaps a combination of nationalistic, racial, and religious motives was involved in the Jews' response (cf. William Barclay, et. al., *The*

the right to build belonged to the Jews, and they could have no part in it.[101]

Unger asks, "Were the Jews right?" He concludes that they apparently knew what they were doing, but that "their course in regard to aliens and children of mixed marriages, as shown in Ezra 10:3, and indicated in Neh 13:1, 3 . . . , though natural and probably justifiable under the circumstances, was yet, so far as we know, somewhat in advance of what God had required."[102] Even aliens were allowed to eat the Passover if they were circumcised (cf. Exod 12:44, 48, 49).

When Ezra arrived in Jerusalem (ca. 457 B.C.), he was appalled at the news that many of the people, including priests and Levites, had intermarried with "the peoples of the lands" (Ezra 9:1–3). He confessed this sin to God, quoting Exod 34:15–16 and Deut 7:3, which forbade the Hebrews under Moses and Joshua to marry the people of the land of Canaan, which they were about to enter, because of their "abominations" (Ezra 9:12, 14). He thus saw himself in the role of a new Moses, delivering and applying the Law of God to the returned exiles exactly as Moses had done to the new nation of Israel 1,000 years earlier. The "Canaanites, Hittites, Jebusites," etc., of old became the Samaritans, etc., of the post-exilic period, in spite of their claim to be worshiping Yahweh and following his Law. Ezra led the people to put away their foreign wives (Ezra 10:2–5) and even made a list of those who had married outside Jewry (10:17–44).

Nehemiah arrived about 444 B.C. as a special representative of the Persian king and was opposed by Sanballat, governor of Samaria (Neh 2:10). Apparently, Judah had been added to the province of Samaria by Nebuchadnezzar. Sanballat thus recognized that Nehemiah was creating a new political entity centered in Jerusalem and that this territory would be taken from his control.[103] Sanballat was a

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Bible and History [Nashville: Abingdon, 1968] 130, 159). Derek Kidner (*Ezra and Nehemiah*, Tyndale Old Testament Commentaries [InterVarsity, 1979] 49) suggests that the Jews left their real (religious) motives unspoken.

[101] In the light of Ezra 4:2, Bishop (Eric F. F. Bishop, "Some Relationships of Samaritanism with Judaism, Islam and Christianity," *The Moslem World* 37 [1947] 129) cannot be right when he says that "the Samaritans felt that the rebuilding of the Temple postponed the day when the Judeans might return to the true fold, and acknowledge the sanctuary on Gerizim rather than on Moriah," since they obviously had not yet (in 525 B.C.) developed the idea of a rival sanctuary for Yahweh on Gerizim.

[102] Unger, *Dictionary*, 959; cf. Deut 7:1–4; 23:3; Exod 34:15–16; Judg 3:5–6; Mal 2:11.

[103] James L. Kelso, "Samaritans," *ZPEB* 5.245; Barclay, et. al., *Bible and History*, 130; cf. Herrmann, *History*, 308.

worshiper of Yahweh,[104] as were most of the people of the province. This conflict, therefore, was a political one, not a religious issue. As Gaster shows, the Samaritans had a two-fold fear: that (1) Nehemiah's work in Jerusalem might lead to the growth of a dangerous Judean power, and that (2) it might provoke repercussions from the Persian Government that would work against them also.[105] Nehemiah prevailed, however, in spite of Sanballat's opposition (cf. Neh 2:19–20; 4:1–2, 6–7; 6:1, 15–16), fortified the city, and increased its population.

Nehemiah's separatism may have fueled the Samaritan-Jew alienation. He records in Neh 13:1–3 these words:

> On that day they read aloud from the book of Moses in the hearing of the people; and there was found written in it that no Ammonite or Moabite should ever enter the assembly of God, because they did not meet the sons of Israel with bread and water, but hired Balaam against them to curse them. However, our God turned the curse into a blessing. So it came about, that when they heard the law, they excluded all foreigners from Israel.

Note that the command to exclude Ammonites and Moabites from the assembly was extended under Nehemiah to exclude "all foreigners from Israel," regardless of ethnic mixture or religious practice. The Samaritans were automatically included in this group.

Toward the end of his governorship, Nehemiah discovered that one of the sons of Joiada, the son of Eliashib the high priest, had married a daughter of Sanballat. He was so furious that he chased the young man out of Jerusalem (Neh 13:28). And so, he says, "I purified them from everything foreign" (13:30).

Naturally, the reaction of the Yahweh-worshiping Samaritans was resentment. They were faced with deciding what was the best way to worship the Lord apart from the Jerusalem cult. This led them inevitably to an even more crucial estrangement from Judaism about a century later.

The Samaritan Temple on Gerizim

According to Haacker, "The most important single event in the history of the rise of the Samaritan community was probably the construction of the temple to Yahweh on Mount Gerizim towards the end of the 4th cent. B.C."[106] Josephus relates the episode generally as follows:[107] Darius III of Persia (336–331 B.C.)[108] sent to Samaria a

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[104] Bright, *History*, 383; James L. Kelso, "Samaritans," 5.245.

[105] Gaster, "Samaritans," 192.

[106] Klaus Haacker, "Samaritan," *NIDNTT*, 3.451.

[107] Josephus, *Ant.* 11.8.2–4.

[108] George E. Wright, "The Samaritans at Shechem," *HTR* 55 (1962) 361.

Cuthean named Sanballat to be governor. This Sanballat gave his daughter Nikaso to be the wife of Manasseh, a brother of the high priest Jaddua, in order to develop good relations with the Jews in Jerusalem. The elders in Jerusalem, however, resented this marriage to a foreigner, and ordered Manasseh to have the marriage annulled. Sanballat, confident of the good will of Darius, promised Manasseh the high priesthood of the Samaritans. So Manasseh stayed with Sanballat, thinking that Darius would give him the high priesthood. Many from Jerusalem deserted to Manasseh, and Sanballat gave them money, land, and places to live.

When Alexander the Great began his campaigns against Darius, Sanballat and Manasseh were certain that Darius would win. The opposite happened. So in 332 B.C. when Alexander was besieging Tyre, Sanballat went up to see him, offered him 8,000 Samaritans to fight for him, and accepted his rule. In return Alexander gave his consent for the Samaritans to build a temple on Mt. Gerizim, since Manasseh, brother of the Jewish high priest, and many of the Jewish people had defected to Samaria, which became the natural refuge "for all who were dissatisfied with the stringent reforms taking place in Jerusalem."[109] Alexander apparently considered it an advantage to have the Jews split into two groups, instead of being united;[110] he was also grateful for the military support.[111] So the temple was built (very quickly) and Manasseh was appointed its high priest. Sanballat died after Alexander had spent seven months on the siege of Tyre and two months on the siege of Gaza.

Given the remarkable similarity of this story of the priest Manasseh to the account of the priestly son of Joiada by Nehemiah (13:28), many have doubted the historical accuracy of Josephus at this point. *The Jewish Encyclopedia* says, "It is most unlikely that there were two Sanballats whose daughters married sons (or a son and a brother) of high priests, and that these sons were expelled from Jerusalem at dates just 100 years apart,"[112] and it concludes that Josephus intentionally tried to discredit Samaritan claims by connecting the temple with Manasseh as a bribe for his apostasy.

Rowley declares that Josephus' account is so "garbled" that there is "no means of knowing when the Samaritan Temple was built."[113] Unger assumes that it was Nehemiah who expelled Manasseh, and places the building of the temple about 409 B.C.[114] Others say that

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[109] A. Co., "Samaritans," *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, 10.671.

[110] Wright, "Samaritans," 361.

[111] Haacker, "Samaritan," 451.

[112] Co., "Samaritans," 671.

[113] Harold H. Rowley, "Sanballat and the Samaritan Temple," *BJRL* 38 (1955) 187.

[114] Unger, *Dictionary*, 959.

Josephus has confused two separate incidents (the expulsion of
Manasseh and the building of the temple), while some even move
Nehemiah down into the fourth century.[115]

Until recently there was no evidence outside of Josephus for two
Sanballats. A Sanballat is mentioned in the Elephantine papyri, but
he is clearly the contemporary of Nehemiah.[116]

But in 1962–63, papyri of the fourth century B.C. were discovered
in a cave of the Wadi Daliyeh north of Jericho.[117] The name San-
ballat appears twice, described as the father of Hananiah, governor of
Samaria in 354 B.C. Now the Sanballat of Nehemiah's day was suc-
ceeded by his sons Delaiah and Shelemiah in the last decade of the
fifth century.[118] So the father of Hananiah would be Sanballat II
(perhaps ca. 380–360 B.C.). If so, then the objections to a Sanballat III
as governor in 332 B.C. disappear. High offices often were heredi-
tary.[119] And the practice of papponymy (naming a child for its grand-
father) was much in vogue during this era.[120]

> We can reconstruct with some plausibility, therefore, the sequence
> of governors of Samaria in the fifth and fourth century. Sanballat the
> Horonite is evidently the founder of the line, to judge by the fact that
> he bears a gentilic, not a patronymic. He was a Yahwist, giving good
> Yahwistic names to his sons Delaiah and Shelemiah. Sanballat I must
> have been a mature man to gain the governorship, and in 445, when
> Nehemiah arrived, no doubt was already in his middle years. His son
> Delaiah acted for his aged father as early as 410. The grandson of
> Sanballat, Sanballat II, evidently inherited the governorship early in
> the fourth century, to be succeeded by an elder son (Yeshuaᶜ?), and
> later by his son Hananiah. Hananiah was governor by 354 B.C., and his
> son, or his brother's son, Sanballat III, succeeded to the governorship
> in the time of Darius III and Alexander the Great.[121]

Thus Wright concludes that Josephus' story about the founding
of the temple on Mt. Gerizim by permission of Alexander the Great is
substantially reliable.[122] It was the founding of this rival temple which
did more than anything else to aggravate the traditional bad relations
between Samaritan and Jew.

[115]Cross, "Aspects," 203.
[116]Purvis, *Samaritan Pentateuch*, 103.
[117]Cross, "Aspects," 201.
[118]Purvis, *Samaritan Pentateuch*, 104.
[119]Cross, "Aspects," 203.
[120]Ibid.; cf. the Tobiads of Ammon and the Oniads of Judah.
[121]Cross, "Aspects," 204.
[122]Wright, "Samaritans," 364.

Some have contended that "the mere existence of a Temple on Mount Gerizim need not itself have involved an irreparable breach."[123] They point to other Jewish temples at Elephantine in Upper Egypt in the fifth century B.C., at Leontopolis in Lower Egypt in the second century B.C., and at ʿAraq el-ʾEmir in Transjordan.[123a]

However, only the Gerizim temple became a real challenge to the Jerusalem temple, because it represented a considerable political faction and was also a rival for the allegiance of Yahweh-worshipers of the north.[124] The Jews understood the prophets and Deuteronomy to point to Jerusalem as the only legitimate place for sacrifice, at least in Palestine.

The new temple on Gerizim would have provided the base for a distinct and separate religious community. It also provided a "Jewish" priest, who probably brought with him a copy of the Pentateuch and began to teach the people the ways of God and worship along a line which became more and more Mosaic. The temple drove a wedge between the two communities, which in time was to split them into two hostile groups.

The Destruction of Samaria and the Rebuilding of Shechem

When Alexander the Great had finished with Tyre and Gaza, he installed Andromachus as governor of Syria (including Palestine) and went south to invade Egypt.[125] In 331 B.C., the city of Samaria revolted and burned the governor alive. Alexander immediately marched north against Samaria and captured it. Those who had killed Andromachus fled with their families to the Wadi Daliyeh, where they were found in a cave and suffocated to death by Alexander's soldiers.[126] Alexander then resettled Samaria with Macedonians and made the city a Greek colony.[127]

The Samaritans were then forced to establish a new capital, and the logical place was old Shechem.[128] It was a time-honored site, hallowed by the most ancient Hebrew traditions and adjacent to the holy mountain of Gerizim on which a new temple had just been built. With the development of Shechem, the Samaritan religious and cultural center was firmly established.[129]

[123] Rowley, "Samaritan Temple," 189.

[123a] Haacker, "Samaritan," 451.

[124] Purvis, *Samaritan Pentateuch*, 12.

[125] Wright, *Shechem*, 178.

[126] Frank M. Cross, "The Historical Importance of the Samaria Papyri," *BA Rev* 4 (1978) 25.

[127] Purvis, *Samaritan Pentateuch*, 107.

[128] Wright, "Samaritans," 365; cf. Cross, "Aspects," 25.

[129] Purvis, *Samaritan Pentateuch*, 109.

Waltke says that Wright has conclusively shown that Shechem
was Samaria's replacement as the Samaritan capital after Alexander
captured Samaria.[130] This accounts for: (1) the archaeological evi-
dence for the reestablishment of Shechem in the late fourth century,
after having been virtually uninhabited during the Persian period;
(2) the elaborate attempts the Samaritans made to refortify Shechem—
to maintain their claims against the Jews; (3) Josephus' implication
that Shechem was the Samaritan capital in the period of Alexander
and thereafter (cf. *Ant.* 11.8.6–7); and (4) Sir 50:25–26 (ca. 180 B.C.),
which refers to "the foolish people who dwell in Shechem."[131]

Bickerman notes that "it often happened that when a Greek
colony was established, native villages under its control formed a
union around an ancestral sanctuary."[132] It was possibly after such
a pattern that the Samaritans were organized at Shechem and
Mt. Gerizim. There can be little doubt that the city was rebuilt by the
remnant of the Samaritans driven out of their newer capital at
Samaria.[133]

The Destruction of the Temple and Shechem

With their establishment at Shechem and Gerizim, the Samaritans
began a long and painful process of self-identification.[134] And the
enmity toward Jerusalem and the Jews grew rapidly.

Josephus relates that when Alexander granted the Jews freedom
from tribute every seventh year, the Samaritans requested it also,
claiming to be Jews.[135] But whenever any Jew was accused by the
authorities at Jerusalem of breaking the Law or of any other crime,
he would flee to Shechem and say that he was unjustly accused.

About 193 B.C., Antiochus III gave Samaria and Judaea to
Ptolemy Epiphanes as his daughter Cleopatra's dowry. Josephus says
that during this time the Samaritans were flourishing and doing much
mischief to the Jews by cutting off parts of their land and "carrying
off slaves."[136]

When Antiochus Epiphanes was harrassing Judea (ca. 168–
67 B.C.), the Samaritans at Shechem sent a letter to him disclaim-
ing any relationship to Jews or to their God and asked that their

[130]Bruce K. Waltke, "Review of *The Samaritans*, by James A. Montgomery," *BSac*
126 (1969) 84.

[131]Wright, "Samaritans," 359, 365–66.

[132]Elias Bickerman, *From Ezra to the Last of the Maccabees* (New York: Schocken,
1947) 43–44.

[133]Cross, "Aspects," 207.

[134]Purvis, *Samaritan Pentateuch*, 109.

[135]Josephus, *Ant.* 11.8.6–7.

[136]Ibid., 12.4.1.

temple on Gerizim be named the Temple of Zeus Hellenios.[137] It is this opportunism which Haacker labels "decisive for the ultimate schism."[138] Thus, the Samaritans escaped persecution, while the Jews resisted with their lives. The success of the Maccabean revolt led later to the expansion of Judaea at the expense of Samaria (cf. 1 Macc 10:38; 11:24, 57).

Josephus relates an interesting story which supposedly took place in Alexandria (Egypt) about 150 B.C. in the days of Ptolemy Philometer. The Jews and Samaritans there were disputing about which temple was the true one. Ptolemy became the judge at a debate, and the Jewish side won, appealing to the Law and the succession of high priests and the age and prestige of the Jerusalem temple.[139] (The appeal to Moses and the priesthood shows that the basic Samaritan doctrines had already solidified in general form by this time.)

John Hyrcanus (134–104 B.C.) decided to put an end to the Samaritan rivalry. In 128 B.C. he destroyed the temple on Mt. Gerizim, and in 107 B.C. he destroyed both Samaria and Shechem.[140] Purvis sees several motivating factors behind these acts.[141] First, the Samaritan temple was an irritating and divisive factor in Palestine. Second, animosities between Shechem and Jerusalem had been rapidly increasing, leading to actual harrassment by the Samaritans. And third, Hyrcanus wanted to solidify the extent of Judaean authority and hold firmly to the "inheritance of our fathers" (1 Macc 15:33–34).

The Samaritans must have breathed a sigh of relief when Pompey conquered Palestine in 64–63 B.C. They developed good relations with both the Romans (until A.D. 52) and the house of Herod (which was closely tied to Rome).[142] Shortly after A.D. 70, Emperor Flavius Vespasian rebuilt Shechem (about one-half mile west of the old city) and named it Flavia Neapolis (New City), which survives as the modern city of Nablus.[143]

The Samaritan Pentateuch

The Samaritan recension of the Pentateuch also played its part in the development of the sect. Purvis believes that "the Samaritan Pentateuch is the chief sectarian monument of the community, and it

[137] Ibid., 12.5.5.

[138] Haacker, "Samaritan," 452.

[139] Josephus, *Ant.* 13.3.4.

[140] Wright, *Shechem,* 183–84; cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 13.10.2,3.

[141] Purvis, *Samaritan Pentateuch,* 113–15.

[142] Haacker, "Samaritan," 452.

[143] Bishop, "Relationships," 112.

is hardly possible to conceive of Samaritanism as a sect apart from it."[144]

The most prized possession of modern Samaritanism is its scroll of the Pentateuch, known as the Abisha scroll.[145] Abu'l Fath, in his Chronicle (written in A.D. 1355), says that the Abisha scroll was "discovered" in A.D. 1355.[146] Crown contends that the scroll is "not to be regarded as a unitary work, but as a manuscript assemblage of fragments of various ages."[147] He believes that Abisha, son of the high priest Pinhas (d. A.D. 1364), fabricated the scroll between A.D. 1341 and A.D. 1354.[148] Whatever the case, similar scrolls are also in existence, and the text type is definitely pre-masoretic. The date of this recension is helpful in determining the time of the Samaritan emergence from Judaism as a distinct sect.

Purvis, in his exhaustive study of the Samaritan text, offers the following observations and conclusions:[149]

(1) The script of the Samaritan Pentateuch is a sectarian script which developed from the paleo-Hebrew forms of the Hasmonean period. This script is not a descendant of the paleo-Hebrew of the earlier Persian or Greek periods or of the later Roman period.

(2) The orthography of the Samaritan Pentateuch is the standard full orthography of the Hasmonean period, which contrasts with the restricted orthography seen in the Pentateuchal text of the earlier Greek and the later Rabbinic periods.

(3) The textual tradition of the Samaritan Pentateuch is one of three textual traditions which are now known to have been in use in Palestine during the Hasmonean period. Moreover, it is most likely that this textual tradition completed its development during this period, rather than at an earlier time.

(4) When the final break between the Shechemites and the Jews was consummated, the Samaritans took as the basis of their biblical text proto-Samaritan tradition, a Palestinian text type preserved in the paleo-Hebrew script. The proto-Samaritan had been in process of development from the Old Palestinian textual tradition from the fifth to the second centuries B.C., when it reached its fullest stage of development during the Hasmonean era. Hebrew orthography also reached its fullest stage of development at this time, and the comparable phenomena of full text and full orthography may be due to more

[144] Purvis, *Samaritan Pentateuch*, 13–14.

[145] Alan D. Crown, "The Abisha Scroll of the Samaritans," *BJRL* 58 (1975), 36.

[146] Ibid., 39.

[147] Ibid., 37.

[148] Ibid., 64.

[149] Purvis, *Samaritan Pentateuch*, 16–17, 84–85, 118.

than coincidence. For their sectarian recension, the Samaritans selected the full text of the proto-Samaritan tradition and the full orthography in vogue at that time.

(5) The complete and irreparable break in relations between the Samaritans and the Jews occurred neither in the Persian nor the Greek periods. It occurred in the Hasmonean period as the result of the destruction of Shechem and the ravaging of Gerizim by John Hyrcanus.

Waltke declares that "Professor Cross has now shown that the Samaritan recension proper branches off in the early Hasmonean Period."[150] Cross concludes as follows:

> We can now place the Samaritan Pentateuch in the history of the Hebrew biblical text. It stems from an old Palestinian tradition which had begun to develop distinctive traits as early as the time of the Chronicler, and which can be traced in Jewish works and in the manuscripts of Qumran as late as the first century of the Christian era. This tradition was set aside in the course of the 1st century in Jerusalem in favor of a tradition of wholly different origin (presumably from Babylon), which provided the base of the Massoretic Recension. . . . The Samaritan text-type thus is a late and full exemplar of the common Palestinian tradition, in use both in Jerusalem and in Samaria.[151]

CONCLUSION

The development of Samaritanism and its alienation from Judaism may thus be seen as a process with important milestones which promoted the antagonism: (1) the division of the kingdom into north and south (ca. 931 B.C.); (2) the conquest of Israel by Assyria, with resulting importation of foreign colonists and religions (ca. 722–630 B.C.); (3) the rejection of the new Samaritan community by Zerubbabel, Ezra, Nehemiah, and later leaders (ca. 535–332 B.C.); (4) the building of a rival temple on Mt. Gerizim (332 B.C.); (5) the reconstruction of Shechem as the capital of the Samaritans, followed by growing harrassment of Jews (ca. 332–170 B.C.); (6) political and religious opportunism shown by the Samaritans during the persecutions of Antiochus IV (ca. 168–67 B.C.); (7) the destruction by John Hyrcanus of both the Samaritan temple and Shechem (ca. 128, 107 B.C.); and (8) growing hostilities and harrassment on both sides during the next several centuries.

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[150]Waltke, "Review," 84.
[151]Cross, "Aspects," 208–9.

PAULUS INFIRMUS: THE PAULINE CONCEPT OF WEAKNESS

David Alan Black

This essay is gratefully dedicated to Dr. Harry A. Sturz,
scholar, teacher, colleague, friend,
upon his retirement from Biola University.

The NT words for weakness have a distinctive place in the theo-
logical and ethical vocabulary of the apostle Paul. The central idea in
Paul's conception of weakness is that the greatest revelation of divine
power has occurred in the person and work of Jesus Christ in the
midst of his human and earthly existence. This article explores the
way in which the apostle applies this perspective to his teaching on
anthropology, christology, and ethics. The author concludes that this
unique perspective of Paul is of tremendous importance for the church
today. Through weakness the power of Christ finds its fullest expression
in the apostle, in his apostolic mission, in the communities he founded,
and in all those whom the Spirit of God indwells, both then and now.

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INTRODUCTION

IN the Gospels and Acts, as well as the majority of NT epistles, there
is no development of the theme of weakness into a broad theological
motif such as one can discern in the writings of the apostle Paul. It is
obvious merely from a count of the occurrences of ἀσθένεια, etc., in
the different books of the NT how predominantly it is a Pauline
word.[1] It is missing altogether from 2 Peter, Jude, the Johannine
epistles and Revelation. In James and 1 Peter, it occurs only once,
and in Mark only twice. In all the non-Pauline writings the root
appears only 39 times, and of these occurrences the great majority are
in the Gospels, where it has the simple meaning of illness. In contrast
to this, 44 instances of it occur in the Pauline corpus of letters, more
than all the rest of the NT writings combined, and in much smaller

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[1]Cf. R. Morgenthaler, *Statistik des neutestamentlichen Wortschätzes* (Zürich: Gott-
helf, 1958) 79.

compass, being limited primarily to his chief epistles, Romans and 1
and 2 Corinthians.

Numbers alone prove that ἀσθένεια must be regarded as a charac-
teristic Pauline word, but over and above the significance of quantity
is the special meaning it comes to bear in his letters. Paul has made
the word the vehicle of a profoundly important element in his teaching
and parenesis. Even a casual reading of the relevant passages reveals
in Paul a deeper insight into its essential meaning and content and a
stricter unity and consistency than that of any other author. Only the
writer of Hebrews, who himself may have been a Paulinist, can be
said to approximate the depth and meaning of the Pauline usage.[2]

Although valuable investigations of the terms for weakness have
been published in recent years,[3] it may be convenient to have a brief
synopsis of Paul's ideas on the subject and of how they differ from
those found elsewhere. By so doing, the basic literary unity and theo-
logical perspective of the motif in Paul may be brought out in a more
integrated manner. At the very least, it is hoped that this synopsis will
open up some new possibilities of interpretation which may then be
assimilated into further studies of the terms.

THE PAULINE PERSPECTIVE ON WEAKNESS

In the Pauline letters there is no complete or fully developed
"doctrine" of weakness or description of the circumstances that call it

[2]The author of Hebrews infuses the word with theological significance when he
writes that Christ is able to sympathize with the weaknesses of men (4:15), and when he
describes the heroes of faith as those whose "weakness was turned to strength" (11:34;
NIV), a magnificent summary of the writer's concept of faith as that which overcomes
and is always driving forward, never retreating. In the Gospels, scattered instances of a
theological usage, such as Jesus' statement on Olivet that the flesh is ἀσθενής in
contrast to the spirit which is πρόθυμον (not δυνατή !) in Mark 14:38, or John's
reference to an ἀσθένεια πρὸς θάνατον (John 11:4), are the exceptions which prove
the rule.

[3]See the useful, albeit brief, summaries by G. Stählin, "ἀσθενής κτλ," TDNT 1
(1933) 490–93, and H.-G. Link, "Weakness, etc." NIDNTT 3 (1978) 993–96. Important
studies of the terms in specific contexts include those by J. Cambier, "Le critère
paulinien de l'apostolat en 2 Co 12,6," Bib 43 (1962) 481–518; E. Fuchs, "La faiblesse,
gloire de l'apostolat selon Paul (Etude sur 2 Co 10–13)," ETR 2 (1980) 231–53; E. Gütt-
gemanns, Der leidende Apostel und sein Herr (FRLANT 90; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck
& Ruprecht, 1966) 142–70; E. Käsemann, Die Legitimität des Apostels: Eine Unter-
suchung zu II Korinther 10–13 (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1956)
37–43; M. Rauer, Die "Schwachen" in Korinth und Rom (BibS[F]21; Freiburg: Herder,
1923); and G. Theissen, "Die Starken und Schwachen in Korinth," EvT 35 (1975) 155–
72. Mention might also be made of the popular work concerning the handicapped in
the Bible, edited by H.-G. Schmidt and entitled, In der Schwäche ist Kraft: Behinderte
Menschen im Alten und Neuen Testament (Hamburg: Wittig, 1979).

forth. On the one hand, this is due to the intensely personal character
of the theme, which does not always allow it to be described or
represented systematically. On the other hand, and even more signifi-
cantly, account must be taken of the character of Paul's writings as
occasional letters to meet specific situations in particular churches,
even if there is disagreement with respect to this character of his
writings. The Pauline epistles are essentially pastoral in tone and
content and, while they presuppose that Paul himself had a fairly
well-developed concept of weakness, they give us only sporadic
glimpses of its nature and contours. It should not be assumed,
therefore, that the apostle's correspondence reveals the whole of his
thinking regarding the subject of this study, nor is one entitled to
reconstruct from such incomplete data a systematic theology of the
apostle's thought concerning weakness.

Despite the fragmentary nature of the data, however, it is evident
that Paul's teaching regarding weakness and even the parenesis result-
ing from it strongly reflect a high level of understanding on the part
of the apostle. Even where we cannot be sure of his meaning due to
insufficient data, we can elucidate enough of Paul's insight into Chris-
tian weakness to form a fairly clear picture of the subject. For exam-
ple, the notorious problem of Paul's "thorn in the flesh"—what he
calls one of his "weaknesses" (2 Cor 12:7–10)—has given rise over the
centuries to a myriad of suggestions regarding the character of the
particular infirmity which had afflicted the apostle. No doubt specula-
tive minds will advance fresh proposals, and their suggestions will
rightly be welcomed. However, for present purposes, Paul's "thorn"
does not demand a final conclusion, for by its very lack of definition
it is of more benefit to us than would have been the case otherwise. It
is enough to know that Paul "most gladly" and with full eagerness
welcomed it because it had made him all the more aware of his
Master's all-sufficient grace and dynamic power in the midst of his
own weaknesses.[4]

The same thing can be said concerning the specific identity and
religious conceptions of the "weak" in Corinth and Rome. To a certain
extent it is important to know something of the weak and strong
communities in both churches as well as something of Paul's resolution
of the controversy between them. But certain matters, such as whether
the weak are to be considered individuals or a party; whether their
practices stem from a Judaistic, Gnostic, or Hellenistic background;
whether they indeed abstain from wine and observe ceremonial holi-
days; and whether they actually (or only hypothetically) exist in Rome,

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[4]It should be noted that the emphasis in this familiar verse (2 Cor 12:9) is on the
introductory words, "My grace is sufficient for you." The words, "for power is made
perfect in weakness," serve only to explain that statement.

are circumstantial questions that do not relate directly to the funda-
mental principles which Paul introduces into the discussion.

Although these questions are not without significance, it is clear
that Paul's main contention, both in Romans 14 and 15 and in 1 Corin-
thians 8–10, is to show how an established community can maintain
its unity despite sharp differences of opinion. His answer is that love
can tolerate even the most severe disagreements in matters of personal
conviction and that such problems should be resolved in the interests
of edification. Because Christ Jesus has accepted the weaker members
of the church, for whom he died, so too the strong must accept and
support them in an attitude of humility and love (cf. 1 Cor 8:9–13;
Rom 14:1; 15:1). Our task at this point, therefore, is not to demon-
strate with precision the identity of the weak (even if that were pos-
sible), but to demonstrate how Paul deals with them. Indeed, for Paul
the issue is not so much the immature view of the weak as it is the
spirit of the so-called "strong" who condemn their weaker brothers.
Thus the apostle deals with the problem of the rightness or wrongness
of eating meat only as a side issue, seeking to give his full attention to
the more serious spiritual problem so that he might lead both groups
on to a fuller understanding and expression of their Christian liberty.[5]

When we speak of Paul's "theology" of weakness, we must re-
member too that the theological is subordinated to the practical pur-
pose to which he had devoted his life and labors. Manson wrote of
the apostle, "He is a great Christian thinker; but he does not see the
Gospel as the manifestation in time of some metaphysical principles
or values. For Paul Christianity is not a system of ideas, but a series
of events."[6] Thus in the final analysis, Paul is not concerned with
defending a doctrine or even with defending himself—"who is Paul
and who is Apollos but ministers through whom you believed?" (1 Cor
3:5). In Paul's mind the truth of the gospel was the important matter
to be defended at all costs. Hence he is not interested in developing a
theology of weakness, for it is at most only the wrapping of the true
gospel. Christ himself is the core of Pauline theology; the concept of
weakness is used only to defend and to define that core.

One final point should be made by way of introduction: the
significance of the Pauline weakness vocabulary without exception
grows out of those concrete situations which he addressed in his
letters. This is perhaps most clearly seen in the Corinthian letters, in
which Paul finds himself forced to answer the criticisms of his oppo-
nents regarding his own weakness. If Paul had never been attacked so

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[5]R. N. Longenecker, *Paul, Apostle of Liberty* (New York: Harper & Row, 1964)
239–43.

[6]T. W. Manson, "Paul the Christian and Theologian," *On Paul and John* (ed.
M. Black; London: SCM, 1967) 11.

viciously by the opposition in Corinth, we might forever have gone
without his long narrative concerning weakness in 2 Corinthians 10–
13. This lengthy passage, so vital to a clear understanding of Paul's
concept of weakness, is available to us today (humanly speaking)
because of the failures of certain early Christians. Paul develops espe-
cially his *christological* ideas of weakness in direct relationship with
the church at Corinth, seeing this as the most effective way to handle
the issues undermining his work among his converts. The emphasis
upon Paul's *personal* weakness is also essentially restricted to the
Corinthian audience, apparently because the subject was a matter of
heated debate. The language of weakness thus conveyed a special
meaning to Paul's Corinthian readers, a fact which explains why the
terms are not employed with frequency in his other writings, both
earlier and later.[7]

Any study of the Pauline weakness motif must, therefore, take
into consideration Paul's concern to be relevant to the Christians to
whom he writes. Nowhere in his letters does he attempt to systematize
his teaching on weakness. The apostle himself seems oblivious to the
pattern and principles which we will offer as "Paul's" theology of
weakness. On the other hand, since the apostle certainly does have his
own ideas about weakness, every attempt to discern the broad outlines
of these ideas is appropriate.

THREE MAJOR SUB-THEMES

Although it would be unjust to Paul, and to ourselves, to con-
struct a systematic picture from such disparate material and then see
the whole complex as determinative in any particular case, neverthe-
less certain patterns do emerge, not only in those passages where
weakness is a comparatively prominent theme, as in portions of 1 and
2 Corinthians, but also in other less salient passages. Broadly con-
ceived, the Pauline weakness motif is composed of three sub-themes:

[7]The Pauline usage from early to late stages reveals an erratic development when
analyzed in strict chronological sequence. Yet a broad, bell-shaped developmental
pattern emerges. Whereas in his earliest and latest epistles the words are rarely found,
they figure prominently in Rom and 1 and 2 Cor, epistles which stem from the middle
period of Paul's apostolic career and which are usually designated to be "doctrinal" in
content. However, here they are important terms not only in Paul's theology but also
in his ethical teaching. He develops the words into a major theme in the Corinthian
correspondence, where weakness plays a significant role in the Pauline apostolic *apolo-
gia*. In 2 Cor, where the attack against Paul is at its strongest, the largest complex of
weakness language in the NT is to be found (14 occurrences). Why is Paul so defensive
of his own infirmities in 2 Cor? Only because a misunderstanding of his weakness leads
to error concerning the nature and acquisition of divine strength. Paul *is* strong, but
only because he is "in Christ" (cf. 2 Cor 12:9, 10; 13:4). Otherwise he freely admits to
being *Paulus infirmus*.

the *anthropological*, the *christological*, and the *ethical*. These are the
three inseparably related components of Paul's gospel as well, and
understandably so, since the terms for weakness are used primarily to
defend and to illuminate the apostle's preaching.

Weakness as a Sign of Humanity

The Pauline weakness motif is first of all *anthropological* because
it presupposes that man's whole being is dependent upon God and
that man, as a creature of God (like Adam), is susceptible to the
limitations of all creation. Paul views man as a member of the present
age which is characterized by transitoriness, suffering, and evil. In
particular, the present age is under the control of Satan and has been
infiltrated by sin which captures, enslaves, and ultimately kills man.
Thus the concept of "weakness" becomes an apt designation for the
extent of man's participation in the old aeon insofar as man is mortal
and subject to the troubles, illnesses, and temptations of the pres-
ent age.

Closely associated with man's weakness, but not strictly identified
with it, is his flesh (σάρξ). By definition, σάρξ is the earthly part of
man, denoting his physical and temporal existence. It may have "lusts"
and "desires" (Eph 2:3), but in and of itself the flesh is not sinful.[8] In
Rom 6:19 the apostle refers to "the weakness of the flesh" which
necessitates that he speak to the Romans using analogies drawn from
the sphere of human relations. This is an accommodation to the
weakness of man's understanding and to his inability to comprehend
spiritual truth apart from a natural medium. Undoubtedly this weak-
ness of understanding is bound up with man's sinful nature, which is
"worldly" and "natural" as opposed to what is "spiritual" and "im-
material" (cf. Rom 15:27; 1 Cor 3:1; 2 Cor 1:12). Yet Paul does not
equate man's weakness with his sinfulness (even though in another
context he can characterize the human condition by both concepts).[9]

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[8] B. Reicke, "Body and Soul in the New Testament," *ST* 19 (1965) 201–204.

[9] The close collocation of "weak" (ἀσθενεῖς), "ungodly" (ἀσεβεῖς), and "sinners"
(ἁμαρτωλοί) in Rom 5:6–8 does not imply a fundamental identification between these
three terms, as has been noted by O. Kuss (*Der Römerbrief* [Regensburg: Pustet, 1957]
1. 208) and M. Wolter (*Rechtfertigung und zukünftiges Heil. Untersuchungen zu Röm
5, 1–11* [BZNW 43; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1978] 170). Paul uses ἀσθενεῖς in the sense that
man's helplessness under the law had been exposed and his inability to save himself
had become apparent. However, it was not merely the helplessness of man, but also his
godlessness and sinfulness that required the sacrifice of Christ on his behalf. The term
ἀσθενεῖς must, then, emphasize the saving *power* of Christ, while the words ἀσεβεῖς
and ἁμαρτωλοί underscore the *redemptive efficacy* of his atoning death. Nevertheless,
the difference between what man cannot *do* (since he is weak) and what man *is*
(ungodly and sinful) is not great, because the ungodly and sinful man is by definition a

The point of Paul's linking weakness with the flesh is simply to under-
score the earthliness of his readers' faculties of comprehension, which
forces him to describe the spiritual relationship between God and the
Christian in such crude, human terms (cf. Rom 8:15). The flesh in this
sense denotes the personality of man as directed toward earthly pur-
suits rather than the service of God.

This same connotation of weakness as human powerlessness over
against God is found in Rom 8:26, where Paul refers to that infirmity
of the Christian which requires the help of the Spirit's power, particu-
larly in the matter of prayer.[10] According to Paul, nothing lays bare
the helplessness of the believer like his "prayer-weakness." This con-
sists in the fact that he does not know what to pray for as he ought,
that is, as is suited to the occasion and his necessities require. It is at
this point that the Holy Spirit comes to his aid, praying for him in
words which transcend articulated formulation, yet which ascend to
the very throne of grace. This is one example among many passages
in Paul where weakness is made parallel to the antithetical concept of
power (usually δύναμις).[11] The impotence and incapability of man
that characterize the whole range of his earthly existence require
divine intervention. In turn, man's infirmity becomes the place in
which the help and power of God come to expression.

The corresponding concept of man's "salvation-weakness" be-
longs unquestionably to this same category. In its negative aspect,

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man without strength to help himself. Thus man's weakness is not sin, but the inability
to save himself which the saving power of God's justifying act in Christ has overcome
(cf. Rom 8:3).

[10] Much has been written on the participation of the Holy Spirit in the prayer-life
of the believer. See A. Dietzel, "Beten im Geist," *TZ* 13 (1957) 12–32; E. Fuchs, "Der
Anteil des Geistes am Glauben bei Paulus. Ein Beitrag zum Verständnis von Römer 8,"
ZTK 72 (1975) 293–302; K. Niederwimmer, "Das Gebet des Geistes, Röm 8, 26f," *TZ*
20 (1964) 252–65; P. Meyer, "The Holy Spirit in the Pauline Letters," *Int* 33 (1979)
3–18; C. Mitchell, "The Holy Spirit's Intercessory Ministry," *BSac* (1982) 230–42;
P. von der Osten-Sacken, *Römer 8 als Beispiel paulinischer Theologie* (FRLANT 112;
Göttingen; Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1975) 85–86, 93–95; and esp. W. Marchel, *Abba,
Père! La prière du Christ et des chrétiennes* (AnBib 19; Rome: Pontifical Biblical
Institute, 1963). The section of Marchel's dissertation dealing with "La prière 'Abba' et
l'action du Saint-Esprit" (pp. 232–46) is well worth reading.

[11] Integrally connected with the understanding of Paul's concept of weakness is the
opposite notion of strength. In some cases this background is brought into focus and
the concept of strength is mentioned explicitly, whereas at other times the contrast is
only implied. Paul specifically connects weakness with the opposite idea of power in
1 Cor 1:25,26; 4:10; 15:43; 2 Cor 10:10; 12:5,9,10; 13:3,4,9; Rom 4:19; 5:6; 8:3; 14:1,2;
15:1, passages which show the importance of both words in Paul's vocabulary. Paul
often desired to remind his readers that the powerful apostle is also the weak and
suffering one: *Paulus potens* is also *Paulus infirmus.*

salvation refers to man's deliverance from sin and from bondage to the world with its decay and corruption. To execute this judgment upon sin the law is totally impotent, as Paul says, because it is "weakened by the flesh" (Rom 8:3).[12] But what the law was powerless to do is precisely what God did by sending his son in the likeness of sinful flesh and for sin. The law, as it is confronted with sin, reveals its own utter lack of redemptive efficiency, being deprived of its power by reason of the flesh.[13] It has become impotent; hence the person who looks to the law, and especially to the works of the law, as the way of salvation and acceptance with God remains in bondage to sin and its guilt, defilement, and power (Gal 4:9). Law as law, as commandment which demands obedience, does not have any potency or provision for the salvation of the sinner, who must therefore rely completely upon the power of another to accomplish his justification. The time of man's greatest helplessness was, however, the proper and fitting time for God's efficacious work to be wrought by the death of his son (Rom 5:6). The crucifixion of Christ belongs to "the fullness of the time" (Gal 4:4) and to "the consummation of the ages" (Heb 9:26) inasmuch as it was the time in which Christ subdued sin, thus fulfilling what the law and the flesh were powerless to accomplish.

In another vein, Paul can also use the words in several instances in the specific sense of bodily weakness, i.e., physical illness, thus approximating the fundamental usage common to all literature in antiquity. He clearly uses the root for sickness with reference to his close companions in the ministry—Epaphroditus (Phil 2:26, 27), Timothy (1 Tim 5:23), and Trophimus (2 Tim 4:20). Paul probably uses the root for sickness with reference to himself when he speaks of an "infirmity of the flesh" as the cause for the initial preaching of the gospel among the Galatians (Gal 4:13).[14] If we are correct in concluding that Paul is referring to a physical infirmity, we can think of this weakness as a particular disease or ailment, the specific diagnosis of which is, however, a mystery.

Cases of illness among Christians in NT times indicate that the apostolic commission to heal (cf. Mark 16:18) could not be effected indiscriminately to heal oneself or one's friends. Normal means of

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[12]Among the discussions of law in this section of Romans, that by M. Limbeck stands out for its perceptiveness: *Von der Ohnmacht des Rechts. Untersuchungen zur Gesetzskritik des Neuen Testaments* (Düsseldorf: Patmos, 1972) 84–91.

[13]"Das Gesetz offenbart den Willen Gottes. Aber es kann nicht die Erfüllung bewirken—es ist 'schwach' (Röm 8,3)." H. Conzelmann, *Grundriss der Theologie des Neuen Testaments* (München: Chr. Kaiser, 1967) 249. Similarly H. Hubner says the law was "depraved" by the flesh (*Das Gesetz bei Paulus* [FRLANT 119; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1978] 127).

[14]Cf. D. A. Black, "Weakness Language in Galatians," *GTJ* 4 (1983) 15–36.

healing were available for Timothy's gastric problem, for instance; and even in the company of Paul, Trophimus became too ill to travel any further. The classical Pauline passage on illness (2 Cor 12:7–10) is in this respect most striking of all, in that Paul's "thorn in the flesh" remained with the apostle despite even the most intensive prayer for its removal. Paul states three reasons for its existence: to keep him from becoming proud because of his revelations and visions (v 7); to enable him to experience the power of Christ (v 9); and to teach him the true purpose of hardships, persecutions, and personal difficulties (v 10). Indeed, the entire passage is more concerned with the power and grace of the Lord than with the weakness of the apostle. Physical infirmity is evidence that the body "is sown in weakness" (1 Cor 15:43) and is a cogent reminder of the creature's dependence upon the Creator. In this respect, the case of Paul is remarkably like that of Jacob, who learned to depend totally upon God only after he had been inflicted with a physical injury (Gen 32:24–32). These instances of illness suggest that the real issue in the matter of human suffering is man's relationship to God rather than his own physical condition, as painful as that may be.

Sometimes there is a link between individual sin and individual suffering, though in the case of disease a direct connection may not be obvious. From the account of the Lord's Supper in 1 Cor 11:17–34 it is clear that in the early church the penalty for unworthy participation at the Eucharist was sickness, at times even death (1 Cor 11:30).[15] The Lord himself had caused this judgment to fall upon the Corinthians in order that they might repent. However, if they had "discerned" themselves they would not have been judged and punished (v 31). The sin which Paul rebukes is therefore all the more serious, because the Christian who eats without respecting the body (of Christ) is in danger of attributing his own physical illness to natural causes, thus ignoring its purpose.

Finally, it is important to realize that the Pauline conception of weakness in the anthropological sense is different from the common Greek conception of the body as something inherently evil. In Paul, human finiteness is emphasized, but never deprecated, in stark contrast to the neo-Platonic concept of the created world as a corruption of the original divine ideal. The Pauline conception is that of the *weakness* yet *nobility* of man, for in his thinking the human problem is *sin*,

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[15] The implicit progression of thought from ἀσθενεῖς to ἄρρωστοι to κοιμῶνται in 1 Cor 11:30 suggests that ἀσθενεῖς is not merely synonymous with ἄρρωστοι (despite their similar etymologies), but a term denoting a physical punishment of a less serious nature. "Weak" would suffice as a translation for the word, but perhaps the better term would be "sickly," signifying a disposition towards illness which ἄρρωστοι more explicitly connotes.

not the infirmity, finiteness, and mortality which characterize all de-
pendent life. Although the limitations of this physical life will be
eradicated in the kingdom, weakness is a fact of human existence
which cannot be evaded. Weakness is therefore not simply the occa-
sional experience of sickness or powerlessness, but a fundamental
mark of the individual's worldly existence. This emphasis permeates
the whole of Paul's understanding of man and rests fundamentally on
an anthropological basis.

Weakness as the Showplace of God's Might

In a second line of thought, Paul speaks of weakness as the
platform from which the power of God is exhibited in the world. This
aspect of weakness is quite different in character from the preceding
anthropological category. In general, weakness as mere humanness is
directed toward man's participation in the created order, with no
further thought in mind and (in secular authors) no consideration of
divine intervention. Now, however, weakness takes on a whole new
dimension as it is focused and defined by Paul's christology. Through
the death and resurrection of Christ God's power becomes operative
in man's mortal existence so that the believer in Jesus is one who is
united with Christ in weakness and power. This emphasis upon the
believer's participation in the death and resurrection of Christ, seen
most clearly in Romans and 2 Corinthians,[16] is of great importance as
it concerns the significance and meaning of the Pauline weakness
motif. When Paul speaks of "weakness" in this sense, he is no longer
speaking of generic human weakness but of weakness "in Christ," the
one who "was crucified in weakness" (2 Cor 13:4). Thus Paul asserts
that it is in the sufferings which he experiences as an apostle that
divine power is most clearly revealed, having been told by the Lord
himself that "power is perfected in weakness" (2 Cor 12:9). This
christological aspect of the Pauline weakness motif is disclosed espe-
cially in the course of the apostle's arguments against his Corinthian
opponents in 2 Corinthians 10–13.

Since the key to Pauline theology is to be found in the apostle's
thought regarding Jesus Christ, it is not surprising that Paul relates
human weakness to the life of faith which bears the marks of God's
redeeming power. His theology of weakness is christocentric because
his view of the Christian life is essentially a response to the relationship
he enjoys with his crucified, resurrected, and ascended Lord. Paul's
doctrine of weakness is thus subservient to his doctrine of Christ, for
in Paul's view weakness can truly be understood only in relation to

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[16]See R. Tannehill, *Dying and Rising with Christ* (BZNW 32; Berlin: Töpelmann,
1967) 7–47 (for Rom) and 84–100 (for 2 Cor).

Jesus Christ. Although Paul, like the OT writers, relates man's weakness to his fallen nature in Adam, insisting that by his participation in creation, the world, and the flesh man as a whole is a weak being, he does not leave man. there. He further asserts that in Christ human weakness takes on a whole new significance by becoming the place where divine power is revealed.

There are therefore two counterbalancing emphases in Paul's teaching: a solidarity with Adam by which all men under the influence of the natural sphere inherit the generic characteristic of weakness, and a solidarity with Christ by which human weakness under the influence of the Holy Spirit is transformed into a showplace of the divine on earth and a badge of honor. Hence from a purely theological point of view, the most distinctive meaning of weakness in the NT is detected in the christological character which the words acquire when Paul asserts that the power of God is operative in man's earthly existence (which is otherwise weak and corruptible). In the very impotence and mortality of the flesh is concealed the resurrection power of God, operative both in the life of the church (cf. Acts 4:7, 22; 6:8) and in the life of every believer (cf. Phil 4:13; Col 1:11).

This aspect of Paul's understanding of weakness is expressed most profoundly in the famous statement of 2 Cor 12:9 that divine power finds its full scope in human weakness. This promise of the Lord, predicated upon his pronouncement, "My grace is sufficient for you," is the vantage-point from which the whole of the Pauline motif can be seen in its proper perspective. Paul is well content with weaknesses, not because they are desirable in and of themselves, but because they are the vehicle through which the all-sufficient power of God becomes prominent. *Human weakness paradoxically provides the best opportunity for divine power.* It is this principle that makes weakness more meaningful to Paul than to his opponents. Whenever he feels himself to be weak—a fragile earthen vessel, persecuted, insulted, beset with afflictions of every kind—he feels Christ's strength. Behind all his doubts, insecurities, and anxieties is the assurance that God is manifesting his son in and through his life. Paul's message, as well as his person, was the revelation of that fact.

Thus one cannot understand correctly the emphasis Paul gives the words in 2 Corinthians apart from a recognition of the close connection in his thought between Christ and weakness. The christological orientation of Paul's weakness language is clearer here than in any other of his writings. In this letter the terms "Christ" and "weakness" are more than just somehow related: they are co-functional. In contrast to the false apostles who boast in their fleshly wisdom and strength, Paul declares that for him all boasting is excluded except in the "weakness" (cross) of Christ, of which Paul retains a permanent

witness. Therefore, because the gospel is most clearly presented in
human weakness, Paul not only preaches Christ crucified but also
gladly bears in his body the death of Jesus as the means to manifest
his life. This bearing of the weakness of Christ is the apostle's greatest
mark of legitimacy.[17]

As a consequence, in marked contrast with his opponents Paul
asserts the positive significance of weakness and suffering inasmuch
as such weakness reveals the power of Christ and the true meaning of
the gospel. As Fuchs writes:

> Ce qui autorise l'apôtre, c'est qu'il est appelé par le Christ lui même à
> signifier l'évangile dans son existence même. C'est pourquoi, sans
> paradoxe, l'apôtre peut revendiquer avec force sa faiblesse, parce qu'elle
> désigne l'honneur qui lui est fait .de participer ainsi à l'évangile lui-
> même.[18]

Thus Paul views his participation in Christ's weakness not only as a
means of experiencing the power of Christ's resurrection, but also as
a means of fulfilling his own ministry of preaching the gospel. In
itself, weakness indicates that Paul is still a part of the created order
and that he awaits ultimate redemption; but when weakness becomes
a means by which the Lord exercises his power, it shows that God's
might has indeed manifested itself in the world through the death and
resurrection of Christ, thereby overcoming the inability of the law
and the flesh (Rom 5:6; 8:3).

Thus, it may be concluded that the most important contribution
Paul makes to the development of the weakness motif is the relation
he establishes between the idea of weakness and the cross of Christ.
The gospel, for Paul, is nothing more than the weakness of Christ,
who "was crucified in weakness but lives by the power of God" (2 Cor
13:4). Without the cross of Christ, man would never have known true
weakness and learned its deepest meaning. Likewise, Paul also says
there is no power available to the Christian except that of the resurrec-
tion. For Paul, both weakness and power are inseparably tied up in
the death and resurrection of Christ. Therefore if we desire a formal
designation of the Pauline idea of weakness at the height of its develop-
ment, we can hardly do better than call it the *weakness of the cross*;
for when we ask Paul what weakness is, he points us to the cross of
Christ. Nowhere else in the NT can we find a revelation of weakness
comparable to this in degree or scope. In the death of Christ is

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[17]To borrow Käsemann's expression (see note 3).

[18]["That which authorizes the apostle, is that he is called by Christ himself to
signify the Gospel in his very existence. That is why, without paradox, the apostle can
claim with vigor his weakness, because it shows the honor that is given him to partici-
pate thusly in the Gospel itself."] Fuchs, "La faiblesse," 253.

revealed "the weakness of God" (1 Cor 1:25). Consequently when Paul speaks of weakness he identifies it with the crucifixion of his Master. This is exactly the same conception that finds expression in the doctrines of the incarnation and humiliation of Christ (cf. Phil 2:5–11). Yet, the weakness revealed in the death of Christ is in no way independent of the apostle's own weakness; it is "in Christ," says Paul, that he is weak (2 Cor 13:4). Thus the apostle does not merely tolerate his weaknesses; he boasts in them and bears with joy the crucifixion of the Lord in his own body as the surest sign of true apostleship. This principle finds its most fundamental and impressive expression in the words of 2 Cor 12:9b: "Therefore I will boast all the more gladly about my weaknesses, in order that Christ's power may rest upon me."

Weakness in the Church

In the third and final place, the terms in the group are developed in relationship to their *ethical* significance for the Christian. After all that has been said on "being weak in Christ," experiencing God's "power perfected in human weakness," etc., this significance of weakness as something which must be overcome is maintained with a great degree of consistency, especially in hortatory contexts. Both 1 Corinthians 8 and Romans 14 refer to the weak in the church who lack the full knowledge of faith, expressed in ascetic and legalistic behavior. While Paul's sympathies very clearly lie with the weak, he admits that they are still immature and need to grow in knowledge and faith. Yet Paul is careful to point out that there is a place for weak Christians in the believing community. They must never be condemned by their stronger brethren; indeed, Paul explains in great detail that the stronger have a special responsibility for the weaker members of the church. In 1 Corinthians 8 and Romans 14 they are to put aside their differences and live together with the weak in love before their common Lord. In 1 Thess 5:14 they are to stand by their weaker brethren, tenderly and sympathetically consoling, encouraging, and upholding them.[19] In every situation the strong are to fulfill their special duty

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[19]Nothing in 1 Thess suggests that the weak in Thessalonica had such difficulties with diet or holy days as the "weak in faith" in Corinth and Rome faced, as is usually suggested. It seems more natural in terms of the context of the parenetic portion of the letter (4:1–5:22) to interpret the expression "the weak" (5:14) as referring to those Thessalonians who were worried about the delay of the parousia and who consequently were in danger of giving up hope. These believers are "weak" in that they have grown weary of waiting for the end and thus face the danger of being overcome by spiritual sleep (cf. 5:1–11). For detailed supports for this view see the writer's study, "The Weak in Thessalonica: A Study in Pauline Lexicography," *JETS* 25/3 (1982) 307–21.

toward the weak in a spirit of unity and love lest they lead them astray, cause them to fall, and ultimately bring about their spiritual ruin.

It is clear that this ethical aspect of weakness in Paul's writings grows out of the apostle's teaching regarding the reciprocal, mutually edifying love of believers. For Paul, the church is composed of individuals who have been vitally united with Jesus Christ and thereby inextricably joined to all others confessing the same Lord. As members of the same spiritual family, Christians are to live together in a spirit of mutual dependence and unity, serving each other in love (Gal 5:13) and in oneness of soul and purpose (Phil 2:1–2). Therefore, Paul again and again speaks out against every form of spiritual individualism, particularly the more refined form which crops up in regard to standards of spirituality in the church. The Corinthians, for example, had turned Paul's preaching of freedom into the libertarian axiom, "all is permitted to me" (1 Cor 6:12), in order to justify their individualistic application of Christian liberty to the eating of meat offered to idols. Although Paul gives due recognition to Christian liberty on the one hand, he emphatically warns the libertarians against abusing their freedom in Christ by giving the weak an occasion to sin (1 Cor 8:9). If the strong wish to assert their liberty without the restraints of love, they will be sinning against the spiritual Head of the church, Christ himself (1 Cor 8:12). Hence, Paul's teaching is not against the expression of Christian liberty, but he insists that the Christian must exercise his liberty before God on the basis of what is good for the entire community and not only for himself. Similarly, Paul warns the stronger Christians in Rome against the same abuses of liberty, for the freedom wrought by Christ is to be tempered by love, concern, and respect for the "brother for whom Christ died" (Rom 14:15).

Another example of Paul's ethical teaching regarding weakness is in the same line and directs itself likewise against individualism in the church. It concerns the special *charismata* in the church, i.e., the "spiritual gifts" which the Holy Spirit imparts to each believer. Especially in Corinth, there existed the danger of individualism interfering with the harmonious and fruitful ministry of believers within the community. From the context of 1 Cor 12–14 it can be inferred that those who claimed a "pneumatic" status in Corinth had placed an inordinately high premium on the more spectacular gifts.[20] Especially the gifts of tongues and of ecstatic prophecy were taken to be the most important pneumatica. 1 Cor 13:1 suggests that these Corinthians perhaps thought they could even speak a type of "heavenly

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[20]See B. Pearson, *The Pneumatikos—Psychikos Terminology in 1 Corinthians* (SBLDS 12; Missoula, MT: University of Montana, 1973) 46.

dialect" as evidence that they had attained to the highest degree of
spiritual awareness. They had forgotten, or perhaps not known, that
only those gifts that exalted Christ as Lord were suitable for Christian
worship.[21] Although Paul was willing to acknowledge the validity of
the more spectacular gifts of the Spirit, he insisted that love was basic
to all other gifts (1 Corinthians 13). He taught further that there are
many gifts of the Spirit and that *all* are necessary, be they didactic,
therapeutic, miraculous, or ecstatic. But Paul also emphasized that no
gift in and of itself has any value, no matter how spectacular it may
appear, for the essential question is whether or not the gift edifies the
church as it is exercised in love. For example, the apostle defends the
use of tongues; it was a gift of the Spirit and one which Paul himself
possessed and practiced. But because it did little to edify the church
(1 Cor 14:2–5) Paul could say that he preferred to speak five words
with his mind than thousands in a tongue (1 Cor 14:9). Thus it is not
a surprise, in light of the exaltation in Corinth of certain charismatic
powers, that the gifts which the Corinthians praised the most are
relegated by Paul to the foot of the lists given in 1 Corinthians (12:8–
10, 28–30). In the service of Jesus Christ there is no place for individ-
ualism, no matter how great or impressive one's abilities may be.

Conversely, Paul must also emphasize that those members of the
church who appear to be weaker (1 Cor 12:22) are just as indispensable
as the other members for the proper functioning of the body of
Christ. Despite their apparent secondary nature and less glamorous
appearance, their presence and functioning are vital in sustaining life.
To follow Paul's analogy of the human body, we may think of these
weaker members as the sensitive internal organs such as the lungs or
the liver which are so susceptible to injury and whose only protection
is that which the surrounding members afford. These organs, hidden
from view and often taken for granted must, however, be present and
operative or there is no functional body. All other members, including
those possessing greater external beauty and recognition, are depen-
dent upon their existence.

For this reason the apostle is emphatic that all believers, even the
"weaker" members, are important, for they are included in the body
as a necessary part of the church's development and ministry (1 Cor
12:22). Hence those who have not yet reached a full knowledge of the
faith and are still "weak" have their place in the church as a commu-
nity of growing saints. The many individual members of the commu-
nity, including those who are less mature, are actually demonstrating
rather than negating the purposes of Christ within his church. And in

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[21]E. Schweizer, "The Service of Worship: An Exposition of 1 Corinthians 14,"
Neotestamentica (Zürich: Zwingli, 1963) 337.

the final analysis, by virtue of the Christian's redemptive fellowship
with Christ weakness is never merely human weakness but an oppor-
tunity to manifest God's power. "God chose the weak things of the
world to shame the strong" (1 Cor 1:27), and that explains why Paul
constantly refers the Christian acceptance of weak individuals back to
their relationship with God. Because weaker members are chosen by
God, stronger members have no basis to reject them.

This leads us to one final feature that is characteristic of the
Pauline concept of weakness: its markedly theocentric character. God
depends neither upon man's strength nor his achievements, not even
in the church. Instead he seeks out the weak, ungodly, and hostile to
redeem them and to fit them as vessels of his strength (Rom 5:6-8).
Weakness is—as the Lord had expressed it to Paul—the place where
God's power is perfected. The Christian has nothing to give of himself;
the strength he exhibits is the strength God had infused into him.
Thus between Christ and the Christian there is such an intimate
identification in weakness that both are said to live "by the power of
God" (2 Cor 13:4).

CONCLUSION

Paul's view of weakness, regardless of how highly developed it
may be, is not to be understood only as an abstract doctrine, for it
was developed in view of actual conditions. In the first place, weakness
impresses upon us the reality of our finiteness and dependence upon
God. Human attempts are completely useless to please God; with all
of man's effort, he can do nothing. It is just this attitude that Paul
declares when he says he is weak. He can claim no credit for any of
his successes for he knows he has been sustained by God. If he has
achieved anything, it is only by God's power working through a
weak, yet yielded vessel. Thus human initiative, human boasting, and
human merit have no place in the thought of the apostle Paul.

Likewise, Paul teaches that God's way of exhibiting power is
altogether different from man's way. Man tries to overcome his weak-
ness; God is satisfied to use weakness for his own special purposes.
Too many Christians become disheartened over their infirmities, think-
ing that only if they were stronger in themselves they could accomplish
more for God. But this point of view, despite its popularity, is alto-
gether a fallacy. God's means of working, rightly understood, is not
by making us stronger, but by making us weaker and weaker until the
divine power alone is clearly manifested.

Finally, for Paul weakness is the greatest sign of discipleship
because it openly identifies the Christian with his crucified Master. By
his death Christ proved that God's weakness was stronger than man's

strength. This same Christ has now become the example which Christians are to follow. By bearing the cross of Christ and dying daily with him, they participate in the weakness of Christ. This identification with their Lord enables them to glory in their weaknesses, not merely endure them.

Therefore, rather than wrestle with God for freedom from their weaknesses and limitations, the faithful see in these the power of another, who promised, "My grace is sufficient for you, for strength is perfected in weakness" (2 Cor 12:9), and of whom it was written, "He is not weak toward you but is powerful in you. For indeed he was crucified because of weakness, yet he lives because of the power of God" (2 Cor 13:4).

HOW ARE THE MIGHTY FALLEN!
A STUDY OF 2 SAMUEL 1:17–27

DAVID L. ZAPF

2 Sam 1:17–27 introduces and records David's lament over the deaths of Saul and Jonathan. Examination of the textual tradition upholds the integrity of the MT as represented in BHS. Significant lexical problems are considered and suggestions made toward their solution. Consideration of the structure of the lament proper (vv 19–27) reveals David's skill as a poet, while analysis of the content shows David's grief over the deaths of two men with whom he had very different relationships—Saul as a warrior of Israel, yet David's persecutor, and Jonathan as an intimate friend. On a broader level in the Samuel narrative, the lament is a fitting tribute to the tragic hero Saul while also contributing to the story of David's accession to the throne of Israel.

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INTRODUCTION

D AVID's lament over the deaths of Saul and Jonathan in 2 Sam 1:17–27 is a superb example of Hebrew poetry. William L. Holladay notes that "Critics have affirmed with one voice the literary quality of this poem."[1] Keil and Delitzsch say, "It is one of the finest odes of the Old Testament; full of lofty sentiment, and springing from deep and sanctified emotion."[2] Stanley Gevirtz praises it as "a genuine expression of deep sorrow and a masterpiece of early Hebrew poetry."[3] Peter R. Ackroyd wrote, "The poem is a superb work of art, its structure skilfully developed."[4] Hans Wilhelm Hertzberg states

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[1] William L. Holladay, "Form and Word-Play in David's Lament over Saul and Jonathan," *VT* 20 (1970) 154.

[2] C. F. Keil and F. Delitzsch, *Biblical Commentary on the Books of Samuel*, trans. James Martin (vol. 2 in Commentary on the Old Testament; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1975 [reprint]) 288.

[3] Stanley Gevirtz, *Patterns in the Early Poetry of Israel*, 2d ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1973) 73.

[4] Peter R. Ackroyd, *The Second Book of Samuel* (The Cambridge Bible Commentary; Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1977) 24.

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that this lament "has been called the most beautiful heroic lament of all time."[5]

The beauty of this piece of literature, however, does not readily yield itself to the modern reader. Several difficulties confront the interpreter. First, one encounters several textual problems. As a result, whole articles have been devoted to "reconstructing" a readable text for 2 Sam 1:17–27.[6] There are also several lexical possibilities for certain words, forcing the interpreter to make a decision. Further, the structure of this poem is highly complex, employing a wide variety of literary devices known in Hebrew poetry.[7] These factors combine to make exegesis of this passage hazardous, but, if skillfully accomplished, rewarding.

Certain matters must be attended to, however, before attention is turned to the text itself. These include the date, authorship and historical background of the lament.

Date and Authorship

Although there is considerable discussion concerning the state of the received text, there is a general consensus of opinion that this lament is truly Davidic in origin. Hertzberg says, "There is no reason for doubting David's authorship."[8] Holladay remarks, "critics have never doubted its authenticity to David."[9] The fact that, as Gevirtz notes, "The lament was a recognized literary genre in David's day, having had a venerable tradition in the ancient Near East,"[10] lends credibility to Davidic authorship.

Smith argues that it is unlikely that someone else may have written this lament. He says,

> There seems to be no reason to doubt the genuineness of the poem. One negative reason in its favour seems to be of overwhelming

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[5]Hans Wilhelm Hertzberg, *I & II Samuel*, 2d ed. (The Old Testament Library; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1960) 238.

[6]Gevirtz (*Patterns*, 72–96) and Holladay ("Form and Word-Play," 153–89) are extreme examples.

[7]M. O'Connor (*Hebrew Verse Structure* [Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1980]) chose 2 Sam 1:19–27 as a key text for demonstrating his analysis of the structure of Hebrew poetry. D. N. Freedman ("The Refrain in David's Lament over Saul and Jonathan," *Ex Orbe Religionum: Studia Geo Widengren*, Studies in the History of Religions/Supplements to Numen 21 [Leiden: Brill, 1972] 115–26) has a detailed discussion on the metrical structure of these verses. Gevirtz (*Patterns*) and Holladay ("Form and Word-Play") use structural analysis as the basis for their reconstructions of the text.

[8]Hertzberg, *I & II Samuel*, 238.

[9]Holladay, "Form and Word-Play," 154.

[10]Gevirtz, *Patterns*, 72 (see his documentation in n. 4).

force: it has no religious allusion whatever. The strong current of tradition which early made David a religious hero, renders it improbable that any one should compose for David a poem which contains no allusions to Yahweh, to his relation to Israel, or to his care for Israel's king. A similar argument is the absence of any allusion to the strained relations which had existed between Saul and David. That David should show true magnanimity in the case is not surprising. But it would hardly be human nature for an imitator not to make at least a veiled allusion to David's experience at the court of Saul and during his forced exile. With these negative indications we must put the absence of any positive marks of a late date. There seems to be absolutely nothing in the poem which is inconsistent with its alleged authorship.[11]

Of course, there are several positive indications of Davidic authorship as well. First, it must be remembered that David was not only a skilled musician, but also a genius in giving poetic expression to his thoughts.[12] It is for this reason that he is known as the "sweet singer of Israel." The text in 2 Sam 1:17 clearly attributes the lament to David: ויקנן דוד את־הקינה הזאת[13]/"Then David lamented this lament." David's respect for Saul as "the LORD's anointed" is clearly seen in these verses (esp. vv 22–24), and this is consistent with the tradition found in 1 and 2 Samuel (see 1 Sam 24:5–6, 10; 26:9–11, 16, 23; 2 Sam 1:14–16). Never, however, does the lament hint of a friendship between David and Saul. However, in its treatment of Jonathan, the lament speaks of a deep emotional attachment (esp. v 25). This is also consistent with the tradition of 1 and 2 Samuel (see 1 Sam 18:1–4; 20:2–17 [note also the charged emotional atmosphere of this whole chapter]; cf. David's treatment of Jonathan's son after Jonathan had been killed: 2 Sam 9:1–13; 21:7). Thus, the lament accurately and precisely reflects the relationships David sustained with both Saul and Jonathan.

When it is thus seen that the lament is Davidic, the date easily follows. The text gives a specific indication of the amount of time that lapsed between the death of Saul and the reporting of his death to David—three days (2 Sam 1:1–2). The text does not indicate any amount of time transpiring between David putting to death the Amalekite messenger and his composing this lament. There is no reason to suggest that David would have needed more than a few hours to compose it (given his poetic genius), so it is likely that it was

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[11] Henry Preserved Smith, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Samuel*, 2d ed. (ICC; Edinburg: Clark, 1912) 258. However, note that Smith distrusts the received text and offers several emendations.

[12] Cf. the remarks by Hertzberg, *I & II Samuel*, 238.

[13] All quotations from the Hebrew OT in this article are from A. Alt *et al.*, eds., *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelstiftung, 1977).

written within hours after David heard of the deaths of Saul and
Jonathan. This would establish the time of composition as about
1010 B.C.

Historical Background

David's lament comes in a strategic position in the Samuel narra-
tive. It is in the transitional period between the reign of Saul as king
over Israel and the establishment of the Davidic dynasty. However,
the relationships between David and Saul and Jonathan go back far
earlier.

There is a conflict between David and Saul concerning the right
to rule over Israel. Saul is first anointed by Samuel as king over Israel
(1 Samuel 10). However, as a result of Saul's continued disobedience,
Yahweh rejected him as king over Israel (1 Samuel 15) and Samuel
anointed David as the next king (1 Samuel 16). However, this did not
mean that Saul was immediately removed from office. David had to
await Saul's death before his accession to the throne.

Open conflict between David and Saul began after David defeated
Goliath (1 Samuel 17). As victorious Israel was returning home, the
women of Israel came out to meet them, singing, "Saul has slain his
thousands, and David his ten thousands" (1 Sam 18:7). As a result,
Saul became very jealous of David and sought to kill him the next
day. In contrast to David's relationship with Saul was the develop-
ment of a friendship between David and Jonathan. 1 Sam 18:3 says,
"Jonathan made a covenant with David because he loved him as
himself." As the narrative continues, Saul's actions became increas-
ingly psychotic. Occasionally, he tried to kill David in fits of rage but
at other times he meekly sought reconciliation with him. However,
the situation became progressively worse until David was forced to
flee from Saul. However, before he fled, his friendship with Jonathan
was confirmed: a pact was made between them that when David's
enemies had been overthrown, David would not kill Jonathan's de-
scendents (who would be rivals to the throne) (1 Sam 20:14–17).
Jonathan thus recognized that David was destined to rule over Israel,
something Saul knew as well, but tried to prevent (see, e.g., 1 Sam
20:31).

David fled into the Hill Country of Judah. There he began to
gather a band of fugitives, malcontents, and n'er do wells (1 Sam
22:1–2). With this band, David began to raid the Philistines. Saul,
however, kept hunting for David. Because of this, David eventually
decided to try to find protection in a Philistine city, Gath, but while
there, he secretly continued his raids on other Philistine towns. In
time Achish, king of Gath, asked David to join the Philistines in a
battle against Israel, and it appears that David was ready to do as he

was asked, but the other Philistine commanders objected to his presence among them, so he was sent away (1 Samuel 29).[14] This Philistine coalition then joined battle with Israel on Mount Gilboa.[15] There Saul and Jonathan were killed (1 Samuel 31).

News of their death reached David via an Amalekite messenger. The Amalekite claimed that he dealt the death blow to Saul, hoping to be rewarded for this act (cf. 2 Sam 4:10). David reacted by killing the man because he had lifted his hand to destroy the LORD's anointed (2 Sam 1:14). Soon afterward, David expressed his grief over the deaths of Saul and Jonathan in the lament found in 2 Sam 1:17–27.

Following the lament, the writer of 2 Samuel narrates the account of David's confirmation as king over Israel. David was immediately anointed king over Judah at Hebron (2 Sam 2:4). However, Ish-Bosheth, a son of Saul, succeeded his father's throne, and war broke out between the two houses. The tide of the battle was turned in favor of David when Abner, commander of Israel's army, had a falling out with Ish-Bosheth, and went over to the side of David. A bloodbath followed resulting in the murder of both Abner and Ish-Bosheth. During the next seven and one half years, David consolidated his position, resulting in his being anointed king over all Israel at Hebron (2 Sam 5:1–3).

Gevirtz has made some helpful suggestions about the relationship of all this historical background to the lament in 2 Sam 1:17–27:

> Moreover, it may perhaps be hazarded, for the deaths that he here bewails David may have felt at least in part responsible. It was in the service of Saul that David had risen to prominence as a military leader, gained the love of Saul's daughter, Michal, and her hand in marriage, becoming son-in-law to the king, and won the selfless friendship of Jonathan, the heir apparent, who risked the violence of his father's anger—and therein his very life—defending David. Then, hunted as an outlaw leader of an outlaw band, David sought and gained service with Achish, the Philistine king of Gath. Sometime after, in concert with the other four Philistine rulers, Achish joined battle with the Israelite forces in the fateful encounter at Gilboa in which Saul and Jonathan lost

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[14]It is interesting to note that while the battle which was to result in Saul's death was being set in array, David engaged in combat and defeated a band of *Amalekites* who had raided his base at Ziklag. Thus, the same people who had figured so prominently in Saul's downfall (1 Samuel 15) also played an important part in David's rise to power (1 Samuel 30; note esp. v 26 which records David's action of sending some of the plunder from this victory to the elders of Judah—part of his strategy to woo their support).

[15]Christian E. Hauer, Jr. ("The Shape of the Saulide Strategy," *CBQ* 31 [1969] 153–67, esp. 163–67) argues that this battle was a result of initiative taken by Saul as the third stage of a strategic pattern to secure the boundaries of the emerging Israelite monarchy.

their lives. Though he was excused from participating in this engagement, one may wonder, on the basis of his avowed willingness to fight on the Philistine side against Israel and his failure to come to the sorely needed help of those to whom he owed so much, whether David is not "overcompensating" in his lament for a guilty conscience.[16]

This is an interesting possibility, but it is extremely difficult for the modern reader to fathom the psychological motivations that prompted an ancient author. Nevertheless, it is evident that the lament is the result of David's deeply emotional reaction to the news that Saul and Jonathan had been slain on the battlefield.

With this background, it is now time to turn to the lament proper. Here, problems must be faced and, as far as possible, resolved, if the lament is to retain its full force. The first problem that requires discussion is the textual problem.

THE TEXT OF 2 SAMUEL 1:17–27

The MT text of 2 Sam 1:17–27[17] has many difficult readings. William L. Holladay notes, "because of its textual difficulties (for which the ancient Versions are of little help), critical studies of the poem which appeared in the period 1870–1930 tended to concentrate upon the attempt to restore a satisfactory text."[18] Among commentators one finds such statements as, "We can do nothing with the text as it stands."[19] This has led to suggestions for extensive emendations of the text.[20]

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[16]Gevirtz, *Patterns*, 73.

[17]A comparison of Codex Leningrad B 19^A (*Pentateuch, Prophets and Hagiographa* Codex Leningrad B 19^A, vol. 2 [Jerusalem: Makor, n.d.] 96) and the Aleppo Codex (Moshe H. Goshen-Gottstein, ed., *The Aleppo Codex Provided with massoretic notes and pointed by Aaron Ben Asher* [Jerusalem: Hebrew University, 1976] 110–12) yielded no differences in reading and the same text is recorded in *BHS*. For the purposes of this article, therefore, the text of *BHS* will be assumed to be the same as the MT.

[18]Holladay, "Form and Word-Play," 155. Holladay continues, "some of the emendations suggested during this period of critical study are of permanent value." Holladay assumes the corruption of the MT and follows at most points the reconstruction of the text offered by Gevirtz (*Patterns in the Early Poetry of Israel* [Chicago: University of Chicago, 1963] 72–96) but adds a few "improvements."

[19]Smith, *The Books of Samuel*, 259. While this is an extreme example, most commentators suggest at least some emendation to the text.

[20]Gevirtz's whole section on 2 Sam 1:17–27 (*Patterns*, 72–96) is largely devoted to "reconstructing" a comprehensible text. Holladay ("Form and Word-Play," 153–89) "improves" Gevirtz's work based on "word-play" (which he defines as "any likeness of sound between two words or phrases, whether it is deliberate punning of names, or assonance of any sort" [p. 157]). This feature, he says, is exhibited in the early laments of Israel (ibid., 156).

It is necessary to lay down some guidelines to control the amount of emendation to the MT that will be allowed. I suggest the following guidelines. 1) Acceptance of an emendation must be viewed as the exception, not the rule, in handling the text. 2) An emendation must not be proposed solely on the basis of the difficulty of the MT reading. Rather than emend a difficult reading, it is better to leave it uninterpreted in the hope that further research in Semitic languages might bring to light new knowledge that would render the difficulty intelligible or that new manuscript evidence would be found which would suggest a different reading. Conjecture must never be supposed to take the place of evidence. Therefore, 3) emendations to the MT may be proposed if there is sufficient ancient manuscript evidence for a change. 4) Emendations may be considered if it can be shown *how* a scribe would have made an error that resulted in the MT reading. And 5) "emendations" will be considered if it can be demonstrated that a certain scribal practice resulted in an abnormal reading. This last point is relevant to the discussion on v 26 below. What is suggested there is not really an emendation, but an alternate way to understand the MT text. With these guidelines in hand, proposed emendations of 2 Sam 1:17–27 will be considered.

Verse 18

וַיֹּאמֶר לְלַמֵּד בְּנֵי־יְהוּדָה קָשֶׁת הִנֵּה כְתוּבָה עַל־סֵפֶר הַיָּשָׁר:

A variety of emendations have been suggested for v 18. The only significant variation among the versions used in this study[21] was that the LXX omitted the Hebrew term קשת. However, this does not affect the proposed emendations, none of which are based on manuscript evidence.

Part of the difficulty one must face is whether v 18 is to be included in the lament proper. Most of the emendations proposed are suggested on the assumption that v 18 is part of the lament. However, structural analysis of the lament reveals that v 18 falls outside the boundaries of the lament.

Gevirtz offers the most extensive emendation of the text, incorporating most of the suggestions made by others.[22] The following shows the *BHS* text next to the emended version offered by Gevirtz:

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[21]The following versions were used: Alfred Rahlfs, ed., *Septuaginta* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelstiftung, 1935); Alexander Sperber, ed., *The Bible in Aramaic*, vol. 2, *The Former Prophets according to Targum Jonathan* (Leiden: Brill, 1959); and Bonifatio Fischer *et al.*, eds., *Biblia Sacra Iuxta Vulgatam Versionem* (Stuttgart: Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1969).

[22]For less extensive emendations see Smith, *The Books of Samuel*, 259–60 and S. R. Driver, *Notes on the Hebrew Text and the Topography of the Books of Samuel* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1913) 233–34.

BHS   Gevirtz

ללמד בני־יהודה קשת   ילל מר בכה יהודה

הנה כתובה על־ספר הישר   קשת נהי ספד ישראל

The meaning of Gevirtz's emended text is, "(With) a bitter wailing,
weep O Judah! (With) a grievous lament, mourn O Israel!" compared
to the *BHS* reading which he translates, "To teach the sons of Judah
(a/the) bow; Behold, it is inscribed in the book of the upright."[23] As
can be seen, this is a very extensive revision. While some of these
changes may be seen as plausible, at least four of them seem unlikely
based on the evidence. First, it is difficult to see how the י which
Gevirtz adds at the beginning would have dropped out completely.
Second, there is evidence that the ancient scribes practiced word divi-
sion.[24] Therefore, it is unlikely that the ל and מ in ללמד should be
separated. Third, Gevirtz offers no explanation of how הנה became
נהי, and it is difficult to see how this would have happened. Finally,
Gevirtz must resort to the desperate explanation that כתובה על "must
be regarded as an explanatory addition inserted, once the corruption
of the text had gotten under way, in a last desperate attempt to give
some order to what by that time had developed into hopeless chaos."[25]
One final word that may be added is that it is difficult to see how so
many errors crept into the text in so short a space. When all these
factors are added together, it seems unlikely that Gevirtz has recon-
structed the "original" text.

Verse 21

הָרֵי בַגִּלְבֹּעַ אַל־טַל וְאַל־מָטָר עֲלֵיכֶם וּשְׂדֵי תְרוּמֹת
כִּי שָׁם נִגְעַל מָגֵן גִּבּוֹרִים מָגֵן שָׁאוּל בְּלִי מָשִׁיחַ בַּשָּׁמֶן׃

The phrase ישדי תרומת has been widely discussed since Ginsberg
proposed in 1938 that it be emended to ושדע תהומת.[26] Ginsberg

[23]Gevirtz, *Patterns*, 76 (but see my translation below, p. 116). Gevirtz says of קשת,
"It is . . . likely that קשת is to be read, not with the vocalization of the Massoretic text
as קֶשֶׁת (pausal form of קֶשֶׁת), 'bow,' but as קְשֵׁת, construct form of the adjective קָשֶׁת,
'hard,' 'severe'" (ibid.).

[24]See the argument presented by A. R. Millard, "'Scriptio Continua' in Early
Hebrew: Ancient Practice or Modern Surmise," *JSS* 15 (1970) 2–15. In this article
Millard argues against solving "textual problems in the Old Testament . . . by re-
dividing the traditional sequence of letters on the grounds that the words would not
have been separated in ancient times" (p. 2). He offers an impressive array of evidence
from various sources to establish the fact that "word-division was normal amongst the
majority of West-Semitic scribes" (p. 12) and that "The absence of division from various
texts . . . should be the exceptions that prove the rule" (p. 13).

[25]Gevirtz, *Patterns*, 76.

[26]H. L. Ginsberg, "A Ugaritic Parallel to 2 Sam 1:21," *JBL* 58 (1938) 209–13.

found a basis for this emendation in the tablet of the Ugaritic epic *Dn²il*. Since the time he made this proposal, it has been widely accepted.[27] Smith, however, would emend the text to read שְׂדוֹת הַמָּוֶת, "fields of death,"[28] and in this he is followed by Mauchline.[29] However, it is not necessary to emend the text for it to make sense here. Instead, the problem may be solved lexically (see below, p. 108). Thus, following the guidelines laid down above, the suggested emendations of this verse are rejected.

Verse 24

בְּנוֹת יִשְׂרָאֵל אֶל־שָׁאוּל בְּכֶינָה הַמַּלְבִּשְׁכֶם שָׁנִי עִם־עֲדָנִים הַמַּעֲלֶה עֲדִי זָהָב עַל לְבוּשְׁכֶן:

A slight problem is found in v 24. This involves the interchange of a masculine and feminine suffix, when the feminine suffix is expected in both cases (לבושכן/המלבשכם). It is probable that this error crept into the text early. In the early orthography of Hebrew, the מ and נ were very similar in appearance.[30]

Verse 26

צַר־לִי עָלֶיךָ אָחִי יְהוֹנָתָן נָעַמְתָּ לִי מְאֹד נִפְלְאַתָה אַהֲבָתְךָ לִי מֵאַהֲבַת נָשִׁים:

In another verse difficult to understand, the word נִפְלְאַתָה has come under scrutiny as a candidate for emendation. As the verb stands, it is an anomalous niphal perfect, 3rd feminine singular (the ordinary form being נִפְלָאת).[31] Holladay remarks that נִפְלָאת (feminine plural participle) is the expected form, but retains the MT pronunciation as an archaic form.[32] Cross and Freedman, however, have suggested an emendation that better fits the evidence and sense of the

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[27]See, e.g., Gevirtz, *Patterns*, 85–87; Holladay, "Form and Word-Play," 170–71 (although he suggests the plural שרעי for Ginsberg's singular שרע); Robert Gordis, *The Word and the Book* (New York: KTAV, 1976) 35–36; T. L. Fenton, "Ugaritica—Biblica," in *Ugarit-Forschungen*, Band 1 (Butzon & Bercker Kevelaer, 1969) 67–68; and T. L. Fenton, "Comparative Evidence in Textual Study: M. Dahood on 2 Samuel i 21 and CTA 19 (1 Aqht), 1, 44–45," *VT* 29 (1979) 162–70.

[28]Smith, *The Books of Samuel*, 262.

[29]John Mauchline, *1 and 2 Samuel* (New Century Bible; Greenwood: Attic, 1971) 200.

[30]See the chart in E. Kautzsch and A. E. Cowley, *Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar*, 2d ed. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1910 [reprint, 1980] xvii, which gives examples of how Hebrew letters were formed in various periods.

[31]Cf. Francis Brown, S. R. Driver, and Charles A. Briggs, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1953 [reprint]) 810. See Ps 118:23 (Hebrew).

[32]Holladay, "Form and Word-Play," 183.

verse. They suggest that "This anomalous formation is probably the
result of the loss of an *aleph* by haplography."[33] This suggestion is
based on a known scribal practice of a consonant (or in some cases
consonants) being written once when strict grammatical construction
demands that it be written twice.[34] Thus, written fully the phrase
would read, נִפְלָא אַתָּה/"You are wonderful." If this emendation is
accepted, a nice couplet is formed with the next phrase, אַהֲבָתְךָ לִי/
"your love was mine."

While the text of 2 Sam 1:17–27 has some hard readings, on the
whole the manuscript evidence supports the MT reading. Because of
this, and on the basis of the above discussion, I reject most of the
proposed emendations.[35] My reasons for doing this will become
clearer in the following discussions. However, the emendation (which
technically might not be considered an emendation) in v 26 is ac-
cepted, as is the emendation in v 24.

LEXICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Once a working text has been established for 2 Sam 1:17–27,
there still remains some difficult lexical problems to be solved. Some-
times none of the meanings of a word seems to fit the context, while
at other times more than one meaning makes good sense. Perhaps
this is partly due to the poetic nature of the passage. Poetry in any
language often stretches the ability of a language to communicate

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[33] Frank Moore Cross and David Noel Freedman, *Studies in Yahwistic Poetry*
(Missoula: Scholars Press, 1975) 26. This suggestion is followed by O'Connor, *Hebrew
Verse Structure*, 233. Earlier Freedman ("The Refrain in David's Lament," 123) had
stated more forcefully, "The omission . . . may have been the result of accidental hap-
lography. More likely the omission was deliberate."

[34] See the discussion by I. O. Lehman, "A Forgotten Principle of Biblical Textual
Tradition Rediscovered," *JNES* 26 (1967) 93–101. Lehman cites numerous examples
from extra-massoretic texts, Aramaic and Samaritan traditions, the Peshitta, Biblical
Greek, and Biblical Hebrew to show that the principle of "textual ambivalence of
Hebrew consonants" (i.e., "the same consonants may be connected both with the word
preceding and that following it" [p. 93]) existed in the ancient Near East. Mitchell
Dahood (*Psalms*, vol. 2 [AB; Garden City: Doubleday, 1968] 81) agrees with this
principle and cites additional references. He also cites some bibliographic references to
show that the idea is not new with Lehman. A somewhat contrary position is taken by
Millard, "'Scriptio Continua,'" 2–15 (see above, n. 24). However, Millard's contention
that it was the normal scribal practice to divide words does not necessarily militate
against the position espoused by Lehman. Indeed, Millard recognizes cases where
words were not normally separated (see p. 15), and the situation described by Lehman
may be such a case.

[35] Many emendations that have been suggested have not been mentioned in this
discussion. Those not mentioned are either insignificant or have almost no basis for
acceptance.

ideas to its limit. Furthermore, poetry (and Hebrew poetry is no
exception) often uses archaic words, which adds to the lexical diffi-
culty. Several key words need to be considered in David's lament.

הצבי

The confusion regarding this word is reflected in the versions. As
vocalized in the MT, it is a noun which means either "beauty, honor"
(based on צבה II) or "gazelle" (based on צבה III).[36] However, the
Aramaic Targum Jonathan has אתעתדתון, an ithpael of עתד, which in
this stem means "to be ready."[37] Holladay reasons from these facts as
follows:

> This ithpael of ʿtd serves as a passive (or intransitive) of the pael; the
> pael of this verb regularly translates nṣb hiphil. That is, the Targum
> strongly suggests our reading a Hebrew niphal in the present instance.
> The verb nṣb fits nicely into our context.[38]

This would require repointing the MT הַצְּבִי as הִצָּבִי, a feminine
imperative meaning "take one's stand."[39] The vocative, Israel, would
then be seen as a personified woman.

The LXX, however, offers a different possibility. It translates
הצבי by Στήλωσον, an aorist imperative meaning, "set up as a στήλη
or monument."[40] This is a translation of the hiphil of נצב, which
would be pointed הַצֵּב, meaning, "set up, erect (a pillar)."[41]

The Vulgate, however, reflects the Hebrew pointing of the MT
text. The Vulgate has the word incliti from inclutus, meaning "glori-
ous, famous, illustrious, renowned, celebrated"[42] (indicating צבה II
was understood).

The differences among the versions at least verify the consonantal
text of the MT. The next question that may be asked is whether a

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[36]BDB, 839–40. Cf. William L. Holladay, *A Concise Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon
of the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1971 [reprint, 1980]) 302; Reuben
Alcalay, *The Complete Hebrew-English Dictionary* (Hartford: Prayer Book, 1965)
2147; and Avraham Even-Shoshan, הַמִּלּוֹן הֶחָדָשׁ, vol. 5 (Jerusalem: Kiryath Sefer, 1979
[Hebrew]) 1295 (2 Sam 1:19 is cited as an example meaning פְּאֵר "glory," יֳפִי "beauty,"
הָדָר "splendor").

[37]Marcus Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmudi Babli and Yeru-
shalmi, and the Midrashic Literature* (New York: Judaica, 1975) 1128.

[38]Holladay, "Form and Word-Play," 165.

[39]BDB, 662.

[40]Henry George Liddell and Robert Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, revised by
Henry Stuart Jones and Roderick McKenzie (Oxford: Clarendon, 1940 [reprint, 1977])
1644.

[41]BDB, 662.

[42]Edwin B. Levine, Goodwin B. Beach, and Vittore E. Bocchetta, eds., *Latin Dic-
tionary* (Chicago and New York: Follett, 1967) 173.

verb form (with the Aramaic Targum Jonathan and the LXX) or a
noun form (with the MT and the Vulgate) is to be expected. The
parallelism exhibited between v 19a and v 25b[43] suggests that a noun
form is expected. However, structural analysis of the lament reveals
that there is *no* structural connection between these two lines (see
below, pp. 111–15). Nevertheless, the semantic parallelism strikes the
reader with such clarity that on the reading of v 25b he is naturally
reminded of v 19a. O'Connor has called this a "fake coda," that is, a
fake ending to the lament.[44] The true ending (v 27) does have a struc-
tural relationship with v 19 where כלי מלחמה stands in a chiastically
arranged parallelism with הצבי ישראל. Both the fake ending and the
true ending use nouns which correspond in the respective parallelisms
to הצבי. Therefore, it can safely be asserted that הצבי should be taken
as a noun form and not a verb form.

However, this still does not solve the lexical problem of deciding
whether הצבי means "beauty, honor" or "gazelle." Commentators are
divided over which of these meanings to accept. In the *Theological
Wordbook of the Old Testament*, 2 Sam 1:19 is cited as an example
of the meaning of "glory" for צבה II, and it is said that the expression
refers to King Saul.[45] Mauchline says, "The term should . . . be ren-
dered as 'glory' with reference to Saul and Jonathan or to the 'glory,'
the national prestige and dignity of Israel as a whole."[46] Others,
however, take the meaning "gazelle." Freedman says, "the use of
animal terms to represent human figures is common both in biblical
and Ugaritic literature."[47] Because of the parallelism between vv 19
and 25, Freedman applies the term to Jonathan.[48]

If the term means "gazelle," it provides interesting imagery for
the verse. 2 Sam 2:18 and 1 Chr 12:9 indicate that the term can be
used in reference to warriors. *The Interpreter's Dictionary of the
Bible* says, "Gazelles had to be hunted . . . but they were not easy to

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[43]V 19a: הצבי ישראל על־במותיך חלל

V 25b: יהונתן על־במותיך חלל.

[44]O'Connor, *Hebrew Verse Structure*, 471.

[45]R. Laird Harris; Gleason L. Archer, Jr.; and Bruce K. Waltke, eds., *Theological
Wordbook of the Old Testament*, vol. 2 (Chicago: Moody, 1980) 1869–70.

[46]Mauchline, *1 and 2 Samuel*, 199. See also Keil and Delitzsch, *Second Samuel*,
290.

[47]Freedman, "The Refrain in David's Lament," 119–20. On the term ṣby, "gazelle,"
in Ugaritic see Cyrus H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook* (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Insti-
tute, 1965) 407, entry 1045.

[48]Freedman, "The Refrain in David's Lament," 120. In this identification he is
followed by William H. Shea, "David's Lament," *BASOR* 221 (1976) 141, and
O'Connor, *Hebrew Verse Structure*, 231. O'Connor notes that F. M. Cross and D. K.
Stuart identified the Gazelle as Saul.

bag, for their speed of movement was proverbial."[49] Thus, the term
would be a fitting term for a military leader.

However, it is not necessary to determine either one meaning or
the other for the term הצבי. Indeed, Freedman remarks, "The terms
may well have a common etymology, since the gazelle is characterized
by its beauty and grace, as well as its speed."[50]

Paralleling the ambiguity of meaning is the ambiguity of refer-
ence. The *semantic* parallelism between vv 19a and 25b suggests that
the term should be applied to Jonathan, but the *structural* parallelism
between vv 19a and 27b suggests that the reference is to both Saul
and Jonathan. The meaning "gazelle" would be a fitting epithet for
Jonathan, who was a noted military leader (see 1 Sam 14:1–13; 24–
45). The meaning "beauty, honor" can be understood as a collective,
figurative reference to both Saul and Jonathan (i.e., Saul and Jona-
than, as the leaders of the nation, are the beauty of Israel). Thus,
it seems that David used the ambiguous term *and* the somewhat
ambiguous structure not to confuse, but to give fuller meaning to
his words. Saul is not slighted, but Jonathan is given a certain
preference.[51]

במותיך

Traditionally this term has been understood to mean, "in your
high places."[52] When it has this meaning, Gevirtz insists that it has a
technical sense of a place of worship,[53] which is out of place in this
context. He also objects to the traditional translation because "Gilboa,
the scene of the heroes' deaths, was [not] . . . Israel's."[54] Therefore,
Gevirtz suggests the translation "thy slain bodies." He finds support
for this translation in Ugaritic studies which have shown that the
term במת in biblical Hebrew may mean "back" and came to denote
"body," and the fact that a pronominal suffix may intervene in a
construct chain and refer to the whole chain.[55] However, such con-
voluted reasoning is not necessary. במה does not need to have the
technical sense Gevirtz suggests.[56] Furthermore, Israel may have

[49]George Arthur Butrick, ed., *The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*, vol. 1
(New York: Abingdon, 1962) 358.

[50]Freedman, "The Refrain in David's Lament," 119.

[51]Cf. the remarks of O'Connor recorded below, p. 115.

[52]Cf. BDB, 119.

[53]Gevirtz, *Patterns*, 77.

[54]Ibid., 78.

[55]Ibid., 77–81, esp. 81. On the last point, cf. Kautzsch and Cowley, *Hebrew
Grammar*, 415, §128d.

[56]Cf. BDB, 119, s.v. במה, 1 and 2.

claimed Gilboa as their territory even though they did not have un-
disputed control of the area. Therefore, it is best to retain the tradi-
tional understanding of the term.

תרומת[57]

BDB and Holladay list similar meanings for this term. According
to BDB it means, "contribution, offering, for sacred uses."[58] Holladay
says it means, "tribute, contribution (at the cult)."[59] Keil and Delitzsch,
accordingly, understand the meaning of the phrase in which this word
is found to be, "'and let not fields of first-fruit offerings be upon you,'
i.e. fields producing fruit, from which offerings of first-fruits were
presented."[60] Freedman, however, offers an alternative understanding
of the term. He would translate ושדי תרומת as "Even you lofty
fields."[61] Fokkelman offers a good defense of this understanding. He
says,

> תרומת is a poetic plural which means "high position." It is true that
> in all other cases in the OT the word means "offering, cultic contribu-
> tion," but I would like to point out that the words of the root *rûm* do
> not usually have such a specific and so extremely limited semantic field
> at all. *rûm*, "be high, elevated" can be used for such divergent matters
> as limbs, objects and persons; it also occurs in a figurative sense. It is
> quite conceivable that, in keeping, the word *terûmā* must originally
> have had a wider field of meaning and that only in the course of the
> history of scriptural language it was limited to a specific cultic use. I
> suppose that II Sam 1 21 is the only evidence extant in the limited
> selection of the classical Hebrew literature which is called the OT *terûmā*
> has the same meaning there as the masc. *marôm*. The semantic identi-
> fication of a noun with mem praeformans and a noun with taw prae-
> formans is admissible.[62]

When this suggestion is accepted, the difficulty of the term is relieved
without emendation of the text. Therefore, this understanding will be
accepted.

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[57]On the suggested emendations to alleviate the difficulties of this term, see the
discussion above, pp. 102–3.

[58]BDB, 929.

[59]Holladay, *Lexicon*, 395. Cf. Alcalay (*Hebrew-English Dictionary*, 2846), who
lists the meanings "offering, gift, donation; contribution; oblation" and associates
Terumah with the priestly tithe on produce.

[60]Keil and Delitzsch, *Second Samuel*, 290.

[61]Freedman, "The Refrain in David's Lament," 122. In this he is followed by Shea,
"David's Lament," 141.

[62]J. P. Fokkelman, "שדי תרומת in II Sam 1 21a—a non-existent crux," *ZAW* 91
(1979) 290.

מגן

One final term that bears mention is the term מגן in v 21b. The meaning is normally understood as "shield," but Freedman interprets the term as "benefactor, suzerain, chieftain," and offers Ps 84:10 as an example of this meaning.[63] However, there is no need to turn to a secondary usage of this word. As Shea argues, "Considering the Palestinian provenience and the early date of 2 Samuel 1, 'shield' seems the more likely translation of *mgn* here."[64]

With this lexical discussion in mind, it is now time to turn to the passage as a whole. The next section will analyze the structure of the lament.

STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS

The skill of David as the "sweet singer of Israel" is clearly displayed in this lament. David employed many of the poetic devices the Hebrew poet had available to produce an elegant, yet tightly structured lament. Furthermore, he did this in spite of the difficulty he faced in eulogizing in a single poetical unit two men with whom he had very different relationships. Holladay well summarizes David's problem:

> David faced a unique problem here: his lament is for two fallen heroes, with each of whom he had a very different relationship. Now it is never easy to compose a eulogy for two at the same time, and it is still harder to compose a eulogy for two when the relationships are so very different as David's with Saul and Jonathan. . . . That he succeeded in a way which gives complete esthetic satisfaction is the measure of his skill.[65]

The first question that needs to be asked when studying the structure of this lament is, "where does the lament begin?" Both Smith[66] and Driver[67] follow Klostermann in seeing ויאמר in v 18 as the introduction to the lament. This suggestion forces them to offer emendations of the MT for v 18 because as it stands, it cannot be part

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[63]Freedman, "The Refrain in David's Lament," 122. On this basis Freedman must insist that the use of בלי in v 21b is assertive, rather than the normal use of this term as a poetic negative particle. However, neither Kautzsch and Cowley (*Hebrew Grammar*, 481, §152g[f, g]) or Ronald J. Williams (*Hebrew Syntax: An Outline*, 2d ed. [Toronto: University of Toronto, 1976] 68–69, §417–20) recognize such a use.

[64]Shea, "David's Lament," 142, n. 5.

[65]Holladay, "Form and Word-Play," 188. Note that Holladay makes these remarks on the basis of his "reconstruction" of the Hebrew text. Nevertheless, his remarks are also appropriate for the MT text as it stands.

[66]Smith, *The Books of Samuel*, 260.

[67]Driver, *Notes on the Hebrew Text*, 234.

of the lament. However, they have no textual support for the emen-
dations they suggest. Rather than assuming ויאמר must immediately
precede the lament, it is a better procedure to see if the text makes
sense as it is before suggesting that the text be emended. This verse
does make sense as an introductory instruction for the lament; there-
fore, the following structural analysis will begin with v 19.

Several recent works have dealt with the structure of 2 Sam
1:19–27.[68] Shea suggests the following structure for the lament:

vs. 19	┌── Inclusio (bicolon)	
vs. 20	│ Standard couplet (bicola) ┐	Daughters of the Philistines
vs. 21	│ ┌ *Qinah* couplet	
vs. 22	│ │ Standard couplet (bicola) ┤	
vs. 23	│ ├ *Qinah* couplet	
vs. 24–25	│ │ Standard couplet (tricola) ┘	Daughters of Israel
vs. 26	│ └ *Qinah* couplet	
vs. 27	└── Inclusio (bicolon)[69]	

The "*Qinah* couplet" consists of a tricolon plus a bicolon. Shea's
theory of the structure, however, breaks up the syntax of the lament.
For example, he reads v 23 in the following way:

> Saul and Jonathan,
>   who were beloved and graceful
>   in their life and in their death they were not separated.
> They were swifter than eagles,
>   They were stronger than lions.

I agree that the last two lines form a bicolon. However, his first three
lines form a tightly structured bicolon as well. The Hebrew reads:

שאול ויהונתן הנאהבים והנעימם
בחייהם ובמותם לא נפרדו

Here, a plural subject to the sentence is followed by two modifiers
(participles in apposition to the subject). The last part begins with
two modifiers (adverbial prepositional phrases) followed by a plural
verb. Thus, there is a syntactical unity with the subject and verb at
the extremities of the bicolon surrounding two sets of two modifiers.
Thus, Shea's "*Qinah* couplet" (a central factor in his analysis) is

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[68]Note that both Gevirtz (*Patterns*, 72–96) and Holladay ("Form and Word-Play,"
153–89) have extensive discussions on the structure of 2 Samuel 1 beginning with v 18.
However, their discussion is omitted from consideration here because they do not
discuss the structure of the MT text, but the structure of their "reconstructed" text.

[69]Shea, "David's Lament," 143.

found not to exist (at least in this case), invalidating his structuring of the lament. Therefore, an alternate structure must be sought.

Freedman has done extensive work with the metrical structure of the lament. On the basis of syllable counts he proposes the following structure:
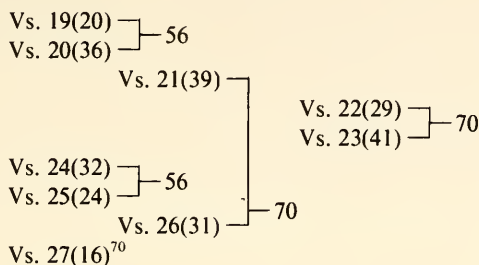
Freedman says, "The individual units vary in length but when combined in accordance with their distinctive characteristics (key words or phrases), the larger groups are evenly matched."[71] This makes a nice numerical scheme, but unfortunately it does not fit these verses semantically (e.g., the subject matter of v 21 is not closely related to that of v 26). Furthermore, this structuring leaves v 27 isolated from the rest of the lament in spite of its parallelism with v 19. Therefore, this scheme too is inadequate.

O'Connor has also done extensive work on the structure of 2 Sam 1:19–27 in *Hebrew Verse Structure*. He analyzes the lament as a long stave[72] of 30 lines. The first two and the last two lines (vv 19 and 27) he sees as the burdens of the lament with a fixed inner line (v 19b and v 27a) and a free outer line (v 19a and v 27b). Enveloped by the burdens are 4 batches, the first two consisting of 8 lines of 4 couplets each (vv 20–21 and vv 22–23) and the last two consisting of 5 lines each. The third batch (vv 24–25) begins with and the fourth batch (v 26) ends with a 3 line group; the third batch ends with and the fourth batch begins with a 2 line group. Thus, the last two batches form a 3:2/2:3 pattern.[73]

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[70]Freedman, "The Refrain in David's Lament," 126.

[71]Ibid.

[72]O'Connor uses the term "stave" to denote the largest poetical unit in Hebrew poetry which normally consists of 23 to 31 lines according to his analysis. He uses the term "batch" to refer to a small unit of 5 to 8 lines, which under unusual circumstances may vary from 1 to 12 lines. A final term he uses in his description of poetic units is "burden." A burden is a refrain structure of 2 to 8 lines containing fixed (i.e., repeated in each occurrence of the burden) and free (i.e., non-repeated) lines. See O'Connor, *Hebrew Verse Structure*, 527–33.

[73]Ibid., 468–71.

O'Connor's lineation of the lament arises from his analysis of the interaction of two strictures at play in the structuring of Hebrew verse.[74] The first stricture is syntactic; the second stricture he calls "troping," which refers to a broad range of phenomena including (among other things) various forms of parallelism, repetition, matching, gapping, coloration, and mixing.[75] The structure, then, arises in the interaction of syntax with tropes. This method of analyzing structure overcomes the limitations evident in both Shea's and Freedman's analyses. A detailed diagram based on O'Connor's lineation and grouping of lines along with a basic analysis of the interrelation of parts is found in the Appendix to this article. The following structural analysis of 2 Sam 1:19–27 relies heavily upon O'Connor's analysis of the lament.

An inclusio is formed by vv 19 and 27, uniting the whole lament. Both verses are composed of a single bicolon. The second colon of v 19 and the first colon of v 27 read exactly the same: איך נפלו גבורים. Thus, the inclusio is chiastically arranged. There is a further chiastic arrangement (both syntactic and semantic) between v 19a and v 27b. The last word of v 19a is the verb, חלל, while the first word of v 27b is also a verb, ויאבדו; both have reference to death. הצבי ישראל and כלי מלחמה are thus found to be matching terms with על-במותיך of v 19a dropped out in v 27b.

The first batch of the lament is found in vv 20–21. This unit consists of four bicolons. The syntax of these lines divides the bicolons into two sets of two bicolons. The first set is found in v 20. Here a bicolon of two main clauses is followed by a bicolon of two subordinate clauses. O'Connor calls this clause mixing.[76] Both bicolons are set in direct parallelism, but with בחוצת of v 20b gapped out of v 20a. The first bicolon examples geographical binomation;[77] that is,

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[74]O'Connor (ibid., 4–5) notes that the strictures were recognized by Lowth in what has been the standard description of Hebrew poetry. Lowth termed these two strictures meter (which he considered hopelessly lost to the modern reader) and parallelism. O'Connor believes that Lowth's crucial insight was not the discovery of parallelism, but the realization "that parallelistic phenomena alone cannot suffice to describe Hebrew verse; something else is going on, which Lowth called meter" and the realization that these two phenomena are interacting. O'Connor's book, *Hebrew Verse Structure*, is his attempt to refine the understanding of these two strictures and their interaction. O'Connor argues that the regularities Lowth regarded as phonological and called "meter" are in fact syntactic. Thus, he subjects the text to intensive linguistic analysis. The other factor in Lowth's description, loosely known as parallelism, O'Connor expands and refines by outlining various "tropes" or figures of speech found in Hebrew poetry.

[75]For an explanation of these terms see ibid., 87–137.

[76]Ibid., 421.

[77]Ibid., 376.

the bipartite geographical titles refer to the whole geopolitical region encompassed by the points of reference. Thus Gath, standing at the eastern edge of Philistine territory near the hill country of Israel, and Ashkelon by the sea represent all of Philistine territory. Exhibited in the second bicolon of v 20 is an adjectival combination.[78] The first line of the bicolon uses a noun (פלשתים) and its match in the second line is an adjective (הערלים). Thus, it is the daughters of the "uncircumcised Philistines" who are not to rejoice at the deaths of Saul and Jonathan.

The second set of bicolons in the first batch is found in v 21. The subordinating conjunction כי in v 21c binds the bicolons together. There is a chiastically arranged match in the first bicolon. Syntactically, the match can be analyzed as vocative/predicate/subject//subject/predicate/vocative.[79] Recognizing this structure aids the interpreter in understanding ושדי תרומת at the end of v 21b. This phrase matches הרי in v 21a, indicating that a technical sense is not in mind here (cf. discussion above, p. 108). The ו on ושדי is emphatic.[80] Repetition is employed in v 21c–d with מגן. These two lines are a poetic expansion of the idea, "because there lies the shield of mighty Saul no longer anointed with oil."

The second batch is found in vv 22–23. Like the first batch, this batch has two sets of two bicolons. The first set is found in v 22. Each bicolon uses direct syntactic parallelism. The two bicolons of this verse are combined by the use of phrase mixing;[81] two phrases are followed by two main clauses. There is a formal relationship of the first phrase with the first clause and the second phrase with the second clause (an alternating structure of ab:a′b′), but the effect of the mixing is to unite all the elements (i.e., "from the blood/fat of the wounded warriors, the bow/sword of Jonathan/Saul did not return empty").

The second set of this batch is related to the first batch through the repetition of the royal names Saul and Jonathan. The use of the plural subject "Saul and Jonathan" in v 23a confirms the analysis that the elements in v 22 are all united. As was noted earlier (p. 110), there is a syntactic unity in the first bicolon of v 23 with a plural subject and a plural verb surrounding two sets of two modifiers. The last bicolon exhibits direct syntactic parallelism.

There is a further structural pattern in this second batch. The first bicolon (v 22a–b) and the last bicolon (v 23c–d) of the batch

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[78] Ibid., 384.

[79] On the use of the construct form, הרי, as a vocative, see below, p. 118.

[80] Cf. Freedman, "The Refrain in David's Lament," 122 and O'Connor, *Hebrew Verse Structure*, 231.

[81] Ibid., 422.

each consists of two lines of two elements per line set in direct syntactic parallelism, thus enveloping the batch. The middle four lines are each composed of three constituents.[82]

Verses 24–25 comprise the third batch. The five lines of this batch form a tricolon followed by a bicolon. In the tricolon, the first line is a main clause and is followed by two dependent clauses. Each line has three constituents and there is syntactic matching between the two dependent lines. Further, the two dependent lines are bound together by the assonance of the first word, המלבשכן,[83] and the last word, לבושכן. As noted earlier, v 25 is a fake coda.

The last batch (v 26) is similar to the third batch in that it has five lines, but this time the bicolon is followed by the tricolon. Employed in v 26a–b is what O'Connor calls personal binomation, in which the name and title of a person are inextricably bound together.[84] The arrangement of this feature here is chiastic, with the title[85] found at the end of the first line and the name found at the beginning of the second line. The tricolon (v 26c–e) is formed with three verbless clauses, each having two constituents.[86] There is alternation in the syntactic pattern, with v 26c, e arranged predicate→subject and v 26d arranged subject→predicate. This structure results in a variation of the placement of the repeated term אהב in v 26d, e.

Structural relationships may also be found traversing the batch boundaries. The first batch relates to Saul; the fourth batch to Jonathan. Saul's name is found in the second half of the first batch; Jonathan's name in the first part of the fourth batch. The second and third batches speak of both Saul and Jonathan. The first set of bicolons in the second batch treats Jonathan, then Saul; the third batch treats Saul, then Jonathan—a chiastic arrangement which envelopes the treatment of Saul *and* Jonathan in the second set of bicolons in the second batch. A contrast may be seen between the daughters of the uncircumcised Philistines (v 20) and the daughters of Israel (v 21). There is a structural similarity between the first and second batches. Both are formed by two sets of two bicolons. The opening set of bicolons are structured similarly with the first batch using clause mixing and the second batch using phrase mixing. The

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[82]A construct noun with its genitive is taken as one constituent (e.g., קשת יהונתן), as is the negative with the verb. The plural subject in v 23a is also taken as a single constituent. My analysis of v 23a–b is *contra* O'Connor (ibid., 329, 334), who sees these lines as consisting of two constituents.

[83]Note the ן for the ם of the MT. See discussion of this emendation above, p. 103.

[84]Ibid., 374–75.

[85]On אח as a title, see below, p. 121.

[86]The constituents of the last line are the interrogative מ and the construct-genitive chain אהבת נשים.

use of the *plural* גבורים in v 21c in a bicolon referring to Saul is echoed in v 25a in a bicolon referring to Jonathan. The word אהב is repeated in v 23a and v 26d, e. The bicolons found in the third and fourth batches both speak of Jonathan. The trope of repetition is found at the end of the first batch and the end of the fourth batch. These trans-batch relationships unify the whole lament.

The personal references to Saul and Jonathan are a major unifying factor in the lament. However, the references are also a point of tension, given David's personal relationships to these men. O'Connor makes the following perceptive remarks on the structure of the lament and this tension:

> There is no structural reading of the Lament based on linguistic criteria which will resolve the tension of reference in the poem, because it is a genuine tension; similarly, some doubt will always attach to the explication of the epithet 'the Gazelle'. The poem is about Saul and Jonathan; and, further, it is more about Jonathan. The treatment of Saul is split over two loci, 21cd and 24abc. The split has the effect of setting Saul up as dominant over the whole poem. In contrast, six of the seven or six lines treating Jonathan occur together. These six (despite their blocking) balance Saul's five because they include the last batch of the poem. Further, Jonathan is treated in the fake coda, 25b. The reading of the first line is not crucial in working out Jonathan's place in the poem's scheme, because even if it refers to Saul, Jonathan's lines still have greater structural prominence. The poem is diverse in its use of resources: it does not slight Saul, while giving prominence to Jonathan.[87]

From this structural analysis of David's Lament, his skill as a poet becomes obvious. Translation of 2 Sam 1:17–27 and a few exegetical remarks will close this discussion of 2 Sam 1:17–27 proper before an attempt is made to understand this portion in its literary context.

TRANSLATION AND EXEGETICAL REMARKS

The problems encountered thus far have been solved sufficiently to allow a tentative translation of the text and for exegetical remarks to be made. This will be done in this section in a verse by verse format.

Verse 17

וַיְקֹנֵן דָּוִד אֶת־הַקִּינָה הַזֹּאת עַל־שָׁאוּל וְעַל־יְהוֹנָתָן בְּנוֹ׃

Then David uttered this lament over Saul and over Jonathan his son.

[87]Ibid., 471.

This verse is the basic introduction to the lament of vv 19–27. The term קינה/"lament" is used of a formal utterance which expresses grief or distress.[88] It is to be distinguished from the word group having the root ספד which "covers most of the spontaneous vocal expressions of grief, whether uttered by hired mourners or by those who were affected by the bereavement."[89] The קינה, on the other hand, could be learned and practiced (cf. Jer 9:9). Cross and Freedman remark that 2 Sam 1:19–27 "is a typical lamentation or Qinah [although] it is not composed in the elegiac rhythm of later times, but has precisely the same metrical and strophic form as the victory hymns."[90] While the analysis presented here rejects Freedman's metrical scheme as a structuring device for the lament, *perhaps* there is a point to be made that the metrics of the text are a subtle indication of what follows in the text: David becomes king over Israel in place of the house of Saul.

Verse 18

וַיֹּאמֶר לְלַמֵּד בְּנֵי־יְהוּדָה קָשֶׁת הִנֵּה כְתוּבָה עַל־סֵפֶר הַיָּשָׁר׃

And he commanded that it be taught to the men of Judah. The Bow. Written in the book of Jasher.

Some of the problems connected with this verse have been noted earlier (see above, pp. 101–2, 109–10). The term קשת is awkward and seems to stand independent of the rest of the verse. Since, as was said above, there seems to be no evidence for a legitimate emendation of the verse, it seems best to take this term as the title of the lament. Keil and Delitzsch say that the title is given "not only because the bow is referred to (ver. 22), but because it is a martial ode, and the bow was one of the principal weapons used by the warriors of that age."[91] Hertzberg suggests, "'Bow' may have been added to the title as a characteristic word featuring in the poem, just as, for example, the second *Sura* of the Koran has been called 'the cow'."[92] The prominence of the bow is also seen in the literary setting of the lament. Saul was critically wounded by archers (1 Sam 31:3). While the exact means whereby Jonathan was killed is not recorded, the text indicates that Saul and his sons were together in the heat of the battle (1 Sam 31:2),

[88]Cf. Ackroyd, *Second Samuel*, 25.

[89]Eileen F. DeWard, "Mourning Customs in 1, 2 Samuel," *Journal of Jewish Studies* 23 (1972) 17.

[90]Cross and Freedman, *Studies in Yahwistic Poetry*, 6. For the metrical analysis of Freedman see his work, "The Refrain in David's Lament," 124–27.

[91]Keil and Delitzsch, *Second Samuel*, 288.

[92]Hertzberg, *I & II Samuel*, 238–39.

so it is reasonable to assume that Jonathan was killed by archers. Furthermore, Jonathan may have had skill as an archer (cf. his use of the bow and arrow in 1 Samuel 20) whereas no mention is made in the text of Saul as an archer. The title, then, may be a subtle indication of David's preference of Jonathan.

The book of Jasher is also mentioned in Josh 10:13 and 1 Kgs 8:53 (LXX).[93] *Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible* says this was "A written document mentioned as though well known and containing Joshua's poetic address to the sun and the moon (Josh. 10:12–13), David's lament over Saul and Jonathan (II Sam. 1:17–27), and probably . . . Solomon's original words of dedication of the temple (1 Kings 8:12–13)."[94] The term "Jasher" is a transliteration of ישר which means "straight" or "upright,"[95] indicating that the title of this collection is descriptive.

Verse 19

הַצְּבִי יִשְׂרָאֵל עַל־בָּמוֹתֶיךָ חָלָל אֵיךְ נָפְלוּ גִבּוֹרִים׃

The gazelle/glory, Israel, upon your heights is slain. How are the mighty fallen!

As was mentioned above, the first term of this verse, הצבי is probably purposely ambiguous both in reference and in meaning. The heights refer, of course, to Mount Gilboa, the scene of Saul's and Jonathan's deaths (1 Samuel 31; 1 Chronicles 10). With O'Connor,[96] I read חלל as a Qal passive. איך with the perfect is a term which expresses "Astonishment or indignation at something which has happened."[97]

Verse 20

אַל־תַּגִּידוּ בְגַת אַל־תְּבַשְּׂרוּ בְּחוּצֹת אַשְׁקְלוֹן
פֶּן־תִּשְׂמַחְנָה בְּנוֹת פְּלִשְׁתִּים פֶּן־תַּעֲלֹזְנָה בְּנוֹת הָעֲרֵלִים׃

Do not report it in Gath! Do not proclaim it in the streets of Ashkelon! Lest the women of the Philistines rejoice, lest the women of the uncircumcised exult!

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[93]The LXX does not refer to this book in Josh 10:13. In 2 Sam 1:18 it translates ישר with εὐθοῦς. 1 Kgs 8:53 in the LXX has βιβλίῳ τῆς ᾠδῆς, "Book of songs," which is generally assumed to refer to the same collection.

[94]*Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*, vol. 2, 803.

[95]BDB, 449.

[96]O'Connor, *Hebrew Verse Structure*, 231.

[97]Kautzsch and Cowley, *Hebrew Grammar*, 471 (§148a, b).

Undoubtedly David thought that the news of the deaths of Saul
and Jonathan would weaken Israel's position in Palestine against
their enemy the Philistines. Under Saul's rule, Israel had moved away
from the domination of the Philistines. As Hauer notes, "Prior to the
battle [at Michmash, which was Saul's first decisive action against the
Philistines] the Philistines seemed able to work their will at the heart
of the Israelite hill country. Not so afterward."[98] However, despite
this desire expressed by David, the news surely spread. Nevertheless,
the news did not result in renewed military action against Israel by
the Philistines. Hauer remarks,

> Philistine overconfidence may have brooked larger than Israelite power
> in the failure to follow up the triumph at Gilboa. They may have
> thought the death of Saul had ended their problems with the hill
> people. There is no record of serious Philistine action against Israel
> until David was perceived as a threat. . . . It is not too much to say that
> by the very fact of his death Saul bought David the time he needed to
> build a military establishment capable of coping with the Philistines
> once and for all.[99]

Verse 21

הָרֵי בַגִּלְבֹּעַ אַל־טַל וְאַל־מָטָר עֲלֵיכֶם וּשְׂדֵי תְרוּמֹת
כִּי שָׁם נִגְעַל מָגֵן גִּבּוֹרִים מָגֵן שָׁאוּל בְּלִי מָשִׁיחַ בַּשָּׁמֶן:

*Mountains! Let there be in Gilboa no dew. Let there be no rain on
you, even you, lofty fields. Because there lies cast aside the shield of
the mighty, the shield of Saul no longer anointed with oil.*

The construction הרי בגלבע is unusual with a noun in the con-
struct state followed by a noun attached to the preposition ב. Kautzsch
and Cowley note this construction in "rapid narrative" as a connect-
ing form.[100] The noun הרי is functionally a vocative, but by using a
construct form, David emphasizes that the curse he utters in this
verse is intended specifically for Gilboa, the land on which Saul and
Jonathan were slain.[101] Fenton perceptively remarks,

> The words of II Sam. 1 21 constitute a literary conceit. The poet
> (speaking in the person of David?) implies that the violent death of
> Saul (and Jonathan?), the fact that he was not laid to rest peacefully
> and buried with his weapons as appropriate (they had been taken as
> booty, 1 Sam. XXXI 9–10) was so outrageous an event, so cruel a

[98] Hauer, "Saulide Strategy," 153–54.

[99] Ibid., 166–67, n. 45.

[100] Kautzsch and Cowley, *Hebrew Grammar*, 421 (§130a).

[101] See the remarks of Ackroyd, *Second Samuel*, 26.

disaster, as to be as shocking as murder. In a bold hyperbole he curses the Hills of Gilboa praying that they suffer drought—the consequence of bloodguiltiness—and he does so using the ancient phrases which may still in his day have been associated with the tale of an actual murder and the actual drought consequent upon it. His equation of death in battle with murder is an extravagance intended to express the affection of David, of Israel, for Saul and Jonathan and the emotion stirred by their slaying.[102]

Shea describes the mountain range which received this curse in the following terms:

> Gilboa is not a solitary mountain peak, nor a series of peaks, but a ridge some eight miles long and three to five miles wide running southeast and south from Jezreel. It forms the watershed between the plain of Esdraelon and the plain around Beth-Shean, dropping away sharply to the north and east. It slopes gradually to the west, however, and on this gentle fertile terrain, barley, wheat, figs and olives are grown. The description "fields of the heights" suits this western slope to which rain and dew were denied by the curse in this poem.[103]

The reason this curse is placed on Gilboa is because "the shield of Saul" lies unanointed on it. The term נגעל has the connotation "cast aside (with loathing)"[104] and this imagery is reinforced by the statement that Saul's shield was no longer anointed. Oil rubbed on a shield was necessary to keep it in proper condition.[105] "Shield" is used here figuratively as a metonymy for Saul himself.

Verse 22

מִדַּם חֲלָלִים מֵחֵלֶב גִּבּוֹרִים קֶשֶׁת יְהוֹנָתָן לֹא נָשׂוֹג אָחוֹר
וְחֶרֶב שָׁאוּל לֹא תָשׁוּב רֵיקָם :

From the blood of the slain (warriors) and the fat of the (slain) warriors, the bow of Jonathan did not turn back and the sword of Saul was not returned empty.

Here David turns to a praise of Saul and Jonathan as military heroes of Israel. As Keil and Delitzsch suggest, "The figure upon which the passage is founded is, that arrows drink the blood of the enemy, and a sword devours their flesh (*vid.* Deut xxxii. 42; Isa. xxxiv. 5, 6; Jer. xlvi. 10)."[106]

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[102] Fenton, "Ugaritica—Biblica," 68.

[103] Shea, "David's Lament," 141–42.

[104] BDB, 171.

[105] Cf. A. R. Millard, "Saul's Shield not Anointed with Oil," *BASOR* 230 (1978) 70.

[106] Keil and Delitzsch, *Second Samuel*, 291.

Verse 23

שָׁאוּל וִיהוֹנָתָן הַנֶּאֱהָבִים וְהַנְּעִימִם בְּחַיֵּיהֶם וּבְמוֹתָם לֹא נִפְרָדוּ
מִנְּשָׁרִים קַלּוּ מֵאֲרָיוֹת גָּבֵרוּ:

*Saul and Jonathan, loved and lovely, in their lives and in their deaths
they were not separated. They are swifter than eagles, stronger than
lions.*

Keil and Delitzsch note that "The light motion or swiftness of an
eagle . . . , and the strength of a lion . . . , were the leading charac-
teristics of the great heroes of antiquity."[107] The idea of life and death
is used to express the total time period of their lives.[108] The fact that
Saul and Jonathan were not separated refers to more than the fact
that they were slain on the same battlefield. Jonathan remained loyal
to his father throughout his life in spite of his recognition that David
would rule Israel, and not he. Nevertheless, even at the battle which
brought his death he was faithfully at his father's side fighting a hated
foe.

Verse 24

בְּנוֹת יִשְׂרָאֵל אֶל־שָׁאוּל בְּכֶינָה הַמַּלְבִּשְׁכֶם שָׁנִי עִם־עֲדָנִים
הַמַּעֲלֶה עֲדִי זָהָב עַל לְבוּשְׁכֶן:

*Women of Israel, weep over Saul, who clothed you with luxurious
scarlet and put ornaments of gold upon your clothes.*

The women of Israel are called upon to weep because of the loss
of their benefactor. Weeping was the expected response to death.
Kepelrud notes, "Death was followed by weeping and mourning,
whether they liked the deceased or not. It was a force in itself, and the
right ceremonies had to be performed."[109]

In this verse Saul is represented as bringing a measure of pros-
perity to Israel. It must be recognized that while the biblical text
"clearly displays anti-Saul biases,"[110] it also intimates a measure of
peace and prosperity attained under Saul's rule that had not been
experienced in the prior period. Evidence for this assertion is found in
the absence of Philistine control of Israel during Saul's reign and the

[107]Ibid.

[108]Cf. Ackroyd, *Second Samuel*, 27.

[109]Arvid S. Kapelrud, *The Violent Goddess: Anat in the Ras Shamra Texts* (Oslo:
Universitetsforlaget, 1969) 81.

[110]William E. Evans, "An Historical Reconstruction of the Emergence of Israelite
Kingship and the Reign of Saul," in *Scripture in Context II*, William W. Hallo,
James C. Moyer, and Leo G. Perdue, eds. (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1983) 77.

loyalty Saul commanded, even in the southern portions of Israel (see, e.g., 1 Sam 23:3–12, 19–20; 31:11–13; and 2 Sam 16:5–8).[111]

Verse 25

<div dir="rtl">

אֵיךְ נָפְלוּ גִבֹּרִים בְּתוֹךְ הַמִּלְחָמָה
יְהוֹנָתָן עַל־בָּמוֹתֶיךָ חָלָל׃

</div>

How are the mighty fallen in the midst of the battle! Jonathan lies slain on your heights.

חלל is taken as a Qal passive as in v 19. The similarity of v 25 with v 19 and v 27 has been noted. But the structural analysis showed that v 25 was not structurally related to either of these other verses, but that it is a fake coda (i.e., a false ending). The separate treatment of Jonathan in a fake coda subtly shows David's preference for him.

Verse 26

<div dir="rtl">

צַר־לִי עָלֶיךָ אָחִי יְהוֹנָתָן נָעַמְתָּ לִי מְאֹד
נִפְלְאַתָה אַהֲבָתְךָ לִי מֵאַהֲבַת נָשִׁים׃

</div>

It is a distress to me concerning you, my brother. Jonathan, you were very pleasant to me. You are wonderful. Your love is mine. What is the love of women?

Here David breaks out in a truly emotional lament over the loss of his friend. The last clause is difficult to translate. Generally the מ of מאהבת has been understood as comparative with the resulting translation, "your love for me is better than the love of women." However, the above structural analysis suggests that the last part of v 26 consists of three independent verbless clauses. This rules out the use of מ as a comparative. Therefore, the מ should be understood as an interrogative (an abbreviation of מה).

As noted in the structural analysis, O'Connor believes v 26a–b exhibits personal binomation in which אחי is used as a title. O'Connor states, "The relationship between David and Jonathan warrants a technical reading of the term ʾḥ 'brother,' in view both of their covenanting and of David's later protection of Jonathan's son."[112] The covenantal force of the term can be seen in its use describing the relationship between rulers (e.g., 1 Kgs 9:13) and between nations (e.g., Num 20:14).

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[111]Cf. ibid., 71–72, 77. See also Hauer, "Saulide Strategy," 161.
[112]O'Connor, *Hebrew Verse Structure*, 375.

Verse 27

אֵיךְ נָפְלוּ גִבּוֹרִים וַיֹּאבְדוּ כְּלֵי מִלְחָמָה׃

How are the mighty fallen! They are perished, the instruments of war.

The "instruments of war" have been generally understood as referring to Saul and Jonathan themselves.[113] Thus, the last line of the lament refocuses attention on the subjects of and the reason for the lament.

LITERARY SETTING

The books of Joshua through 2 Kings are known as the "Former Prophets." This characterization of these books is somewhat curious. Prophetical material is normally associated by Christians with such books as Isaiah or Daniel, or the Minor Prophets, and so on. On the other hand, the Joshua–Kings narrative reads as history. Perhaps the title "Former Prophets" arose because of the belief that these anonymously written works were in fact written by prophets.[114] Be that as it may, the title does indeed characterize the *content* of these books, performing the prophetic task of revealing God's will and word to man.

The prophetical and historical nature of Joshua–Kings coalesces in the selection and interpretation of the details used in recording "what happened." Martin Noth has called this narrative a "deuteronomistic history."[115] To Noth this term referred to a reworking of historical traditions (and of the original "Deuteronomy") by a redactor (or group of redactors) to form a unified theological history of the nation of Israel from the period of the Conquest to the Babylonian Captivity. With a slight modification, Noth's theory seems to capture the organizing principle of the Joshua–Kings narrative. Noth denied the authenticity of the present Deuteronomy as Mosaic. However, a reinterpretation of his basic insight allows one to see the Joshua–Kings narrative as a "later and deliberate modeling upon a literally Mosaic Deuteronomy."[116] With this readjustment of Noth's premises, his statement of the central theological theme of the narrative is valuable. He says,

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[113]See, e.g., Keil and Delitzsch, *Second Samuel*, 292; Smith, *The Books of Samuel*, 264; and Driver, *Notes on the Hebrew Text*, 239. For a contrary view see Mauchline, *I and 2 Samuel*, 201.

[114]Cf. R. K. Harrison, *Introduction to the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1969) 664.

[115]Martin Noth, *The Deuteronomistic History* (JSOT Supplement Series 15; Sheffield, JSOT Press, 1981).

[116]Horace D. Hummel, *The Word Becoming Flesh* (St. Louis: Concordia, 1979) 110.

The meaning which [the deuteronomist] discovered was that God was recognisably at work in this history, continuously meeting the accelerating moral decline with warnings and punishments and, finally, when these proved fruitless, with total annihilation. Dtr., then, perceives a just divine retribution in the history of the people, though not so much (as yet) in the fate of the individual.[117]

The question at hand, then, is "How does David's Lament contribute to the development of the central theme in the Joshua–Kings narrative?" A step in the direction of answering this question may be taken by comparing the narrative surrounding the Lament with the other OT narrative dealing with the history of Israel in the time of Saul and David. That narrative is, of course, Chronicles. A comparison of the Hebrew texts of 1 Sam 31:1–2 Sam 5:3 and 1 Chr 10:1–11:3 reveals some interesting facts. There is almost exact verbal agreement found between 1 Sam 31:1–13 and 1 Chr 10:1–12.[118] The text in Chronicles then adds the editorial comment,

> Saul died because he was unfaithful to the LORD; he did not keep the word of the LORD and even consulted a medium for guidance, and did not inquire of the LORD. So the LORD put him to death and turned the kingdom over to David son of Jesse (1 Chr 10:13–14).

The Chronicler then resumes his account with a passage that is almost word for word the same as 2 Sam 5:1–3.[119] The near perfect verbal agreement gives evidence that the Chronicler had access to a text of the Samuel narrative when he compiled his account. However, he omitted entirely the content of 2 Samuel 1–4.

There are a couple of inferences that can be drawn from these facts. Hummel notes,

> The public, corporate concern of the variations [of Chronicles compared to Samuel/Kings] seems established by the fact that nearly *everything* of the private lives of David and Solomon is omitted, not only what might possibly besmirch their reputation (as critics often construe it), but also episodes which might have contributed to an idealized portrait.[120]

By inference it may be argued that the Samuel–Kings narrative *is* concerned with the private lives of these men. This coincides with the deuteronomistic styling of the Joshua–Kings narrative. Even a cursory

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[117]Noth, *The Deuteronomistic History*, 89.
[118]This can easily be seen in Abba Bendavid, *Parallels in the Bible* (Jerusalem: Carta, 1972) 30–31.
[119]See ibid., 35–36.
[120]Hummel, *The Word Becoming Flesh*, 623.

reading of this narrative reveals that as went the leaders of the nation (i.e., either following Yahweh or not), so went the nation. Thus, the narrative is concerned with the personal qualities of David as the leader of the nation: do his qualities merit Yahweh's blessing for the nation? The answer to this question, at least until David's sin with Bathsheba, is "Yes." The text is careful to show that David is no mere usurper to the throne of Israel. David purposefully avoided killing king Saul on two occasions (1 Samuel 24, 26). When the report came that Saul had been killed, David put to death the messenger who claimed to have inflicted the final blow (2 Sam 1:14–16; cf. 2 Sam 4:10). David rewarded the men who had risked their lives to bury Saul (2 Sam 2:4–7). David disclaimed any part in the murder of Abner, the commander of Saul's army who initially served Ish-Bosheth, Saul's son and successor (2 Sam 3:28–29). And finally, David put to death the men who killed Ish-Bosheth himself (2 Samuel 4). David's Lament contributes to this portrait of David as a man who did not seek his own, but waited on the hand of Yahweh.

A second inference that can be drawn from a comparison of the account in Samuel with the account in Chronicles concerns the right to rule over Israel. The historical account in Chronicles of Saul's rule over Israel *begins* with Saul's death! The kings of the Northern Kingdom are never treated in Chronicles as having a legitimate right to rule. The Northern kings are never given the title "King of Israel," but this title is consistently applied to the kings of Judah. Perhaps the Chronicler, from his historical perspective, does this to reinforce the underlying unity of the kingdom and the right of Davidic rule. The Samuel–Kings narrative, however, presents a more accurate picture of the political realities during this period. With this difference between the two accounts in mind, the actions of David (as noted above) can legitimately be read in another light (and not be contradictory to the assertions made above). There are indications in the narrative that Saul commanded a great deal of respect from his subjects, in the South as well as the North. As Evans notes,

> faced with the external military threat and the internal political threat posed by a pretender, [Saul] is an effective military leader despite his emotional affliction. He is succeeded by his son, and the pretender to the northern throne is forced to play a careful political game before he is able to take over Saul's home territory. Even then, strong pro-Saul and anti-David feelings are manifested by curse and later by open rebellion against David.[121]

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[121]Evans, "The Emergence of Israelite Kingship," 77.

The notion that David had to woo the leadership of the nation to his side is reinforced by his action recorded in 1 Sam 30:26—following his defeat of the Amalekites he sent plunder to the elders of Judah.

One final note may be added about the characteristics of the Joshua–Kings narrative as it relates to David's Lament. It seems that in this narrative, the relative good of those who are otherwise disobedient to Yahweh is credited to their account (cf. 2 Kgs 10:30–31). Thus the Lament is a fitting tribute to Saul, the "tragic hero."[122]

To summarize, in its literary setting, David's Lament can be read on a number of levels. First, it contributes to an idealized picture of David as a king whose obedience Yahweh may bless. Second, as part of a series of actions, it contributes to a realistic picture of how David came to accede to the throne of Israel. And finally, it softens the picture of Saul, crediting him for the effective leadership he did provide for Israel.

<div align="center">CONCLUSION</div>

It is hoped that by now the reader has gained an appreciation for both the problems and the beauty of David's lament over the deaths of Saul and Jonathan. I have been reminded once again through this study of the integral part human emotions have in the life of man. Driver wrote of this lament,

> There breathes throughout a spirit of generous admiration for Saul, and of deep and pure affection for Jonathan: the bravery of both heroes, the benefits conferred by Saul upon his people, the personal gifts possessed by Jonathan, are commemorated by the poet in beautiful and pathetic language. It is remarkable that no *religious* thought of any kind appears in the poem: the feeling expressed by it is purely *human*.[123]

Emotion is not detached from the world in which man is placed. Human emotion may reflect a character pleasing to God (as seen here in the life of David), or a character not in harmony with him. And the display of that emotion may either move his purposes forward (as in the establishment of David's rule over Israel through his respect for Saul), or run against the grain of his purposes.

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[122]Cf. W. Lee Humphreys, "From Tragic Hero to Villain: A Study of the Figure of Saul and the Development of 1 Samuel," *JSOT* 22 (1982) 95–117.

[123]Driver, *Notes on the Hebrew Text*, 239.

APPENDIX

STRUCTURAL DIAGRAM OF 2 SAMUEL 1:19–27

19 הצבי ישראל על־במותיך חלל
איך נפלו גבורים

20 אל־תגידו בגת
אל־תבשרו בחוצת אשקלון
פן־תשמחנה בנות פלשתים
פן־תעלזנה בנות הערלים

21 הרי בגלבע אל־טל
ואל־מטר עליכם ושדי תרומת
כי שם נגעל מגן גבורים
מגן שאול בלי משיח בשמן

22 מדם חללים
מחלב גבורים
קשת יהונתן לא נשוג אחור
וחרב שאול לא תשוב ריקם

23 שאול ויהונתן הנאהבים והנעימם
בחייהם ובמותם לא נפרדו
מנשרים קלו
מאריות גברו

24 בנות ישראל אל־שאול בכינה
המלבשכן[a] שני עם־עדנים
המעלה עדי זהב על לבושכן

25 איך נפלו גברים בתוך המלחמה
יהונתן על־במותיך חלל

26 צר־לי עליך אחי
יהונתן נעמת לי מאד
נפלא (א)תה[b]
אהבתך לי
מאהבת נשים

27 איך נפלו גבורים
ויאבדו כלי מלחמה

[a]Feminine ending as emended. See above, p. 103.
[b]See discussion of the emendation on pp. 103–4.

EVANGELISTIC PRAYING

Curtis Mitchell

Traditionally when Christians have thought of prayer in connection with evangelism, it has centered in praying directly for the salvation of the sinner. In this article such an emphasis is challenged. We will attempt to show that the New Testament advocates prayer for saints rather than sinners in the face of evangelistic need. We will discuss the nature of truly Biblical evangelistic praying.

*   *   *

PERHAPS in no area of praying has there been more misunderstanding than in the relationship between prayer and evangelism. How should one pray concerning an unsaved friend or loved one? It is startling to realize that Jesus Christ never prayed *explicitly* and *directly* for the eternal salvation of a lost person.[1] It is equally startling to realize that neither Jesus nor Paul ever commanded *explicit* and *direct* prayer for the salvation of the lost. If these statements sound startling—they are. If they sound heretical—they are not.

PRAYER FOR THE LOST IS ALLOWABLE

It is true that *implicitly* and *indirectly* there are several places in the NT where prayer for the salvation of the lost is allowable. By way of example, Jesus taught his disciples to ". . . pray for those who

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[1] Jesus' prayer from the cross, "Father, forgive them . . ." (Luke 23:34), cannot be established as part of the text because it is omitted in some very important early manuscripts; see R. George; *Communion With God in the New Testament* (London: Epworth, 1953) 47; J. M. Creed, *The Gospel According to St. Luke: The Greek Text with Introduction, Notes and Indices* (London: Macmillan, 1950) 286; I. H. Marshall, *The Gospel of Luke* (NIGTC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1978) 867. But even if it should be allowed, it is not a prayer for the eternal salvation of his persecutors, but rather for forgiveness from the specific sin of crucifying him and involved those perpetrating the act or, at most, all in Jerusalem that evening; see J. E. McFadyen, *The Prayers of the Bible (New York: Armstrong and Son, 1909) 127;* A. T. Robertson, *Word Pictures in the New Testament* (Nashville, Broadman, 1930), 2. 285; F. W. Farrar, *The Gospel According to St. Luke in the Cambridge Greek Testament for Schools and Colleges* (London: Cambridge University, 1889) 392; A. Plummer, *Luke* (ICC; New York: Scribners, 1913) 530; Marshall, *Luke,* 867.

persecute you . . ." (Matt 5:44).[2] The preposition ὑπέρ ("for") has the
root idea of "over," which easily becomes "in behalf of," and ulti-
mately carries the concept of "for the benefit of."[3] Thus the implication
seems to be that the prayer is to be for the benefit of the persecutor in
some way. Certainly the greatest possible benefit to any enemy would
be his eternal salvation, but this is only implicit.

    Likewise, Paul advocated that prayers be offered up ". . . on be-
half of all men, for kings and all who are in authority . . ." (1 Tim 2:1,
2). However, the immediate reason for such prayers is ". . . in order
that we might lead a tranquil and quiet life in all godliness and
dignity" (2 Tim 1:2). Hence, Paul requests prayer for governmental
authorities so that they will not interfere with the free working of the
church. The ultimate reason is because God ". . . desires all men to be
saved and come to a knowledge of the truth" (1 Tim 2:4). Thus,
prayer for the salvation of governmental officials is at best only indi-
rectly implied. However, in neither instance is the command to pray
for the salvation of the unsaved direct and explicit.[4]

    The closest that the NT comes to explicit and direct prayer for
the salvation of the lost is Paul's cry, "Brethren, my heart's desire and
prayer to God for them is for their salvation" (Rom 10:1). While this
is an explicit and direct prayer for salvation, it may be understood as
a prayer for the salvation of the nation of Israel as a whole[5] rather
than for the salvation of individual Jews. But a more important ques-
tion is why there is only one clear example of explicit and direct
prayer for the salvation of the lost in the entire NT. Is it because
Christ and Paul did not care about the salvation of lost souls? No one
even casually perusing the NT could arrive at such a conclusion.
Rather, Christ wept over the lostness of men and Paul remained
zealous for evangelism throughout his life.

CHRIST'S TEACHING ON PRAYER FOR EVANGELISM

    The NT instruction concerning the relationship of prayer to evan-
gelism is unusual in comparison to contemporary practices. In view

    [2]All Scripture quotations are from the *NASB*.
    [3]A. T. Robertson, *A Grammar of the Greek New Testament in the Light of
Historical Research* (Nashville: Broadman, 1943) 630.
    [4]The same could be said of John 17:21.
    [5]The petition pertains to ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ("for them"). It is a reference to Israel in
9:31. The term Ἰσραήλ as used in this context clearly refers to the nation as a unit
rather than to individual Jews. Indeed, Paul acknowledged that individual Jews are
being saved, but the nation as a whole was refusing the righteousness provided by God
in Jesus Christ (Rom 9:30–33). It was the nation as a whole that had a zeal for God
that was not based on knowledge (10:2–4). Thus, when Paul prayed for Israel to be
saved, it was not individual but national salvation that seems to be in view. See Barrett,
p. 196.

of an obvious need for evangelism ("... the harvest is plentiful ..." [Matt 9:37, cf. Luke 10:2]), Christ commanded prayer ("Therefore beseech the Lord of the harvest ..." [Matt 9:38]). The word used for prayer (δεήθητε, "beseech") connotes the idea of petition that gives special prominence to the expression of need.[6] The sense of need that is latent in the meaning of δέομαι is enhanced by the use of the aorist imperative δεήθητε. Thus, the Lord commands prayer for laborers with a sense of urgent need.

The conjunction ὅπως ("therefore") introduces a clause that designates either content or intent. After verbs of praying, entreating, asking, or exhorting, ὅπως is used with the subjunctive to denote what one wishes to accomplish.[7] For the ὅπως clause to give the purpose of the prayer in which it is found is linguistically possible;[8] that such is the case in Matt 9:38 is theologically probable. Whatever the precise words of the prayer might have been, its purpose was to gain an increase in the labor force.

Jesus commanded his disciples to pray for the Lord of harvest "... to send out workers. ..." The verb ἐκβάλῃ ("send out") is a strong word meaning, "thrust out, force them out, as from urgent necessity."[9] Some would render it even in stronger terms such as, "to drive out, to push out, to draw out with violence or without."[10] This word is a second aorist subjunctive. Hence the translation, "may send out" preserves the force of the subjunctive in a clearer manner.

The strong prayer command δεήθητε ("beseech") in the aorist imperative indicates that in some manner earnest petition is necessary to reap the harvest successfully. God decrees the means as well as the ends, and one of the means is prayer. Lenski astutely comments: "The wonder will always remain that God, the primal cause, uses us and our prayers, the secondary causes, and does not discard them. ... What a blessed relation between the workers in the harvest and the Lord of the harvest."[11]

Amazingly, the Lord did not instruct prayer for the harvest, but for the thrusting forth of harvesters. In the face of an obvious need for evangelism, he did not command prayer for the sinners but for the

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[6] J. H. Thayer, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1901) 126; G. Abbott-Smith, *A Manual Greek Lexicon of the New Testament* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1960) 91.

[7] J. H. Thayer, *Lexicon*, 450.

[8] BAG, 580; cf. also LSJ, 1244.

[9] M. R. Vincent, *Word Studies in the New Testament* (4 vols.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1965), 1. 57.

[10] Robertson, *Word Pictures*, 1. 76.

[11] R. C. H. Lenski, *The Interpretation of St. Matthew's Gospel* (Columbus: Wartburg, 1943) 386.

saints. Reflection on current practices of prayer reveals how far afield
it is from the NT teaching on prayer. Yet, Christ explicitly and defi-
nitely taught that prayer should be offered for laborers for the harvest,
but never explicitly or definitely taught or practiced that prayer should
be offered for the unsaved.

PAUL'S PRACTICE CONCERNING PRAYER FOR EVANGELISM

Paul advocated that Christians pray for harvesters in connection
with evangelistic need. When Paul found himself in prison with possi-
bilities for evangelism on every side, he wrote to believers in local
churches requesting prayer (Eph 6:19, 20; Col 4:3). Both passages are
similar in content and give valuable insight into the nature of prayer
for harvesters.

Instead of sending the churches a list of names and requesting
prayer for the salvation of those individuals, Paul said, "Pray on my
behalf . . ." (Eph 6:19; cf. Col 4:3). Paul prescribed prayer for the
harvester rather than the harvest; for the saint rather than the sinner.
The request for himself was a plea for his effectiveness in witnessing
to the unsaved. Indeed, these passages can be seen as explanations of
Christ's command to pray for the thrusting forth of laborers into the
harvest fields.

PAUL DESIRED OPPORTUNITIES TO WITNESS

On one occasion, Paul said pray ". . . that God may open up to
us a door for the word" (Col 4:3). His concern was not so much for
comfort for his body, but for opportunity to speak. He was concerned
about opportunity to witness. Biblically, it is God's responsibility to
open doors of opportunity (Rev 3:7). Realizing that it is God who
opens doors, Paul requested prayer to this end. The word ἵνα ("that")
introduces the purpose clause. In this instance the opening of a door
of utterance was to be the subject of prayer, and they were to pray in
order that such an opportunity might be granted.[12] The aorist sub-
junctive ἀνοίξῃ ("may open") is ingressive and carries the idea, "might
begin to open." Paul requested that they pray that God would provide
opportunities, "a door," for witnessing.[13] Paul did not force oppor-
tunities, but rather, through prayer, he depended on God to provide

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[12] J. Eadie, *Commentary on the Epistle of Paul to the Colossians* (reprint; Grand
Rapids: Zondervan, 1957) 275; cf. also J. B. Lightfoot, *Saint Paul's Epistles to the
Colossians and to Philemon* (New York: MacMillan, 1879) 137, 231.

[13] R. C. H. Lenski, *The Interpretation of St. Paul's Epistles to the Colossians, to
the Thessalonians, to Timothy, to Titus and to Philemon* (Columbus: Wartburg, 1943)
190.

opportunities. Thus, prayer for the harvesters involves praying that the saints will be given opportunities to witness.

PAUL DESIRED COURAGE TO WITNESS

Twice in his request for prayer in view of an opportunity to witness, Paul requested παρρησίᾳ ("boldness") (Eph 6:19, 20). In both phrases the apostle used the noun and verb forms of the same word. It has the root idea of "free speech," speech which is open and bold.[14] Fear hinders freedom in proclaiming Christ. Hence, Paul desired that the gospel be made "known with boldness" (Eph 6:19). Grammatically, the verb γνωρίσαι ("make known") carries the idea "to actually make it known."[15] The fear of man brings a snare (Prov 29:15). It is possible to witness and yet to be inhibited by fear to such a degree that the presentation is blurred and ineffective. Paul requested prayer that this might not happen. He wanted to be able to have freedom to set it forth courageously without the compelling restraint of fear.[16] Paul considered intercessory prayer an important factor in this type of witnessing. Prayer which is rightly oriented involves praying that the laborers will be given boldness to utilize their opportunities for witness.

PAUL DESIRED A MESSAGE

Paul urged his readers to pray ". . . that utterance may be given to me" (Eph 6:19). The term "utterance" refers to the faculty of speech.[17] It was not the ordinary word used to describe preaching, but rather to describe the elucidation of a message to make sure it is understood.[18] Paul wanted a message; he wanted to proclaim the good news of Christ effectively with words. Perhaps Paul was not a great orator by nature; he admitted that he was ". . . unskilled in speech" (2 Cor 11:6). The passive δοθῇ ("be given") indicates that the apostle looked to God for the message.[19] Paul believed that effective witnessing must be initiated by God. It requires God working through him. Hence, Paul urged Christians to pray that God would grant him

[14]J. Eadie, *Commentary on the Epistle of Paul to the Ephesians* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1883) 237, cf. 479.

[15]R. C. H. Lenski, *The Interpretation of St. Paul's Epistles to the Galatians, to the Ephesians and to the Philippians* (Columbus: Wartburg, 1943) 679.

[16]J. Eadie, *Ephesians*, 478.

[17]T. K. Abbott, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Ephesians and to the Colossians* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1897) 189.

[18]C. L. Mitton, *Ephesians* (NCB; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1973) 229.

[19]J. Eadie, *Ephesians*, 479.

proper wording in his witnessing. That Paul should solicit prayer in this matter shows the awareness he had of both the difficulty and importance of the task.

Because the message to be presented is ". . . the mystery of the Gospel" (Eph 6:19, cf. "mystery of Christ" Col 4:3), divine assistance would be needed in both its proclamation and its comprehension. The term μυστήριον ("mystery") is a truth that is sovereignly withheld by God and then revealed to man at a given point in history.[20] Paul stated in Ephesians 3 that a "mystery" had been revealed to him by direct revelation from God (Eph 3:3). Because they are of divine origin, the truths are beyond the orbit of all human anticipations. They are things that ". . . eye has not seen and ear has not heard . . ." (1 Cor 2:9). Hence the presentation of the gospel needs to be given with divine clarity if men are to comprehend it. Prayer is needed if this type of clarity is to be achieved.

Paul requested the believers at Ephesus to pray not only that he might present the message boldly, but also ". . . as I ought to speak" (Eph 6:20). Similarly, he requested the Colossian believers to pray ". . . that I may make it clear in the way I ought to speak" (Col 4:4). In both intances, Paul was making an appeal for clarity in presentation. This implies that the kind of clarity that Paul sought was beyond the realm of human ability. Thus, God must not only supply the utterance, but the clarity as well and prayer secures divine assistance.

CONCLUSION

All would agree that prayer is crucial in effective evangelism, but prayer as it relates to evangelism has traditionally taken the form of prayer for the harvest. It has consisted of pleas to God to soften the hearts of sinners and to save them. While such prayer is not condemned in the NT, it certainly is not clearly and explicitly set forth (although Rom 10:1 is a possible exception). Rather, Christ commanded prayer for harvesters rather than prayer for the harvest. He taught that prayer should concern saints rather than sinners in connection with the need for evangelism.

Furthermore, Paul practiced exactly what Christ advocated. In the face of a need for evangelism, Paul requested prayer for harvesters. He prayed that the harvesters be given *opportunities* to witness, *boldness* as they witness, and clarity in the presentation of the *message* while witnessing. This explains what is involved in praying ". . . the Lord of harvest to send out workers into his harvest" (Matt 9:38).

Therefore, both Christ and Paul prayed little for the unsaved world directly. Instead, they concentrated their prayer efforts on the

[20]Ibid.

edification of the saints. As the saints are built up and thrust forth into the harvest, evangelism inevitably takes place. However, it is never wrong to cry out directly to God for the salvation of a loved one. Indeed, it would almost be sub-human not to do so. We are instructed to ask for "anything" (John 14:14) and this certainly includes the salvation of a loved one. In fact, there is the distinct possibility that Paul prayed for the lost on one occasion (Rom 10:1). But it is more in harmony with the NT to pray that God would thrust forth Spirit-filled believers across the path of that loved one, and that Christians would be built up and equipped for witness. Such an approach comes closer to the NT instructions concerning prayer as it relates to evangelism.

BOOK REVIEWS

How to Read the Bible for All Its Worth: A Guide to Understanding the Bible, by Gordon D. Fee and Douglas Stuart. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1981. Pp. 237. $6.95. Paper.

Judging from recent publications, things are taking a turn for the better in hermeneutic texts. Older texts (Terry, Ramm, Mickelsen, etc.) offered a system of rules with very little in the way of practical suggestions for specific texts. H. Virkler attempted with much success to bridge the gap between theory and practice in *Hermeneutics: Principles and Processes of Biblical Interpretation* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1981).[1] Two other recent texts go further in this direction by scrapping the "principles"-oriented approach. Instead, these texts organize their material along the lines of the various literary genres in the Bible. The two texts are the one under review here and *The Literature and Meaning of Scripture* (ed. M. A. Inch and C. H. Bullock; Grand Rapids: Baker, 1981).

Fee and Stuart's book is a delight to read. Both men teach at Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary—Fee in NT and Stuart in OT. They write clearly, concisely, and frankly. Their honesty and frankness shines through repeatedly (e.g., pp. 60, 67, 79, 95, 102, 106, 205–6). They are not afraid to point out the mistakes of others nor to admit their own fallibility. The abundance of biblical examples heightens the reader's understanding and interest. When there is room for doubt or disagreement, it is usually acknowledged.

As previously mentioned, the format of the book follows the various literary genres of the Bible. This is an extremely profitable approach, since our idea of the "whole" we are interpreting so greatly influences our ideas of the parts of that whole. Understanding genre is a foundational step in hermeneutics. Accordingly, the authors devote eleven of the thirteen chapters to the various types of literature in the Bible. There are two chapters on NT epistles. Here context is emphasized. Next the proper use of OT narrative literature is explained. The book of Acts serves as a basis for a stimulating study of how historical precedent and normative function interrelate. Following this there are chapters devoted to the gospels, the parables, the OT law sections, the prophets, the psalms, wisdom literature, and the book of Revelation. The book concludes with a helpful appendix on the use and evaluation of commentaries and Scripture and name indexes. All of this is well-written and should be fairly easy for most "lay people" to follow. The authors excel in concise summarization throughout. My favorite sections are the ones which deal with application, including the problem of discerning what is universally normative and what is culturally restricted (pp. 57–71, 96–102, 132–34). Although some will not agree with the authors's view that footwashing is not normative (p. 66), and that Paul's prohibition of women teaching is merely a

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[1]See *GTJ* 3 (1982):142–43 for a review.

local restriction (pp. 66–69), all will better understand the issues by reading the book.

I do have some reservations about this book. The section entitled "The Question of Text" (pp. 31–34) is decidedly slanted toward the Alexandrian text-type. Zane Hodges's view that the Byzantine text is primary is ignored, as is Harry Sturz's view that the Byzantine text deserves an independent status and a chance to be heard. All of this is ignored, brushed off by the unproven assertion that "the better external evidence is preserved in Egypt" (p. 32). I would not expect the authors to enter into a major discussion of these matters, but I would expect less dogmatism and at least an admission that other views exist. On a related matter, it also seems that the differences between the KJV and the more modern translations are blown out of proportion (p. 34). Also, the NIV is given almost unqualified support over the NASB, which is nearly dismissed. For study purposes, I would prefer the literal NASB over the dynamically equivalent NIV. A literal translation should be the primary, not a secondary source (against p. 36) in Bible study.

Aside from this textual issue there is an important hermeneutical one in the section on "Prophecy and Second Meanings" (pp. 164–67). Disturbingly, the use of Hos 11:1 in Matt 2:15 is used to support a sort of *sensus plenior* (fuller meaning) theory in which Matthew totally disregards the original context and assigns a whole new meaning to Hosea's words. Inspiration supposedly gives Matthew the authority and insight to do this, but in my opinion such a view is damaging to inspiration. If it is wrong for God's people to twist the original meaning of Scripture, how can it be right for God himself to do it in inspiration? The very typological principles which the authors deny here are immensely preferable to the view that they advocate. Inspiration cannot be used as an excuse for mishandling the text. Rather, inspiration guarantees that the typological correspondence which the NT writers see is really there.

A few other minor points could be mentioned briefly. The chapter on interpreting the gospels says very little about the fact that Matthew and John were eyewitnesses of the events they describe. Even Mark and Luke evidently were associated with eyewitnesses. This should be kept in mind when evaluating the degree of literary interdependence exhibited in the gospels (pp. 110–12). In another area, it appears that the structure of Psalm 138 does not totally square with the model given for thanksgiving psalms (reversal of deliverance and testimony, pp. 180–81). Finally, in a few places the authors uncautiously recommend some rather liberal works (pp. 106, 221–24). In a book written for theologically unsophisticated readers, more than a brief warning (p. 221) is needed. Some of the commentaries recommended also appear to be too scholarly for the untrained reader (pp. 221–24).

These and other problems aside, however, one cannot help but highly recommend this book. Its format, lucid style, and practicality are its strong points. Pastors could use this book as a refresher course in hermeneutics. They could also use it in training Bible teachers in the churches. The book should also be considered by college and seminary teachers as a textbook for basic classes. The book is well worth its price. There is no doubt it will help the believer read the Bible for all its inestimable worth.

DAVID L. TURNER

The Word Becoming Flesh: An Introduction to the Origin, Purpose, and Meaning of the Old Testament, by Horace D. Hummel. St. Louis: Concordia, 1979. Pp. 679. $20.95.

This volume represents a unique contribution to the genre of OT Introduction books. They are usually characterized by an encyclopedic smorgasbord of the modern melange that is so characteristic of the contemporary scholarly diet. As such they are often delightful tools which are rarely of any concrete use to those who don't play the game. On the other hand, there are those works by conservatives which have sought to interact with the former genre by, gently or otherwise, showing the errors of the critical works. The present volume has attempted to introduce a new approach into the field of Introduction.

Hummel has sought to contrast his work with others through the use of the word *Einführung* rather than *Einleitung*. By this he means that ". . . the former implies something more than *mere* questing after date, authorship, etc. It indicates some attempt also to convey some of the theological depth and direction of the contents. Thus, it moves perceptibly in the direction of not only exegesis, but also of 'Biblical theology'" (p. 12). It is this feature which has made Hummel's book somewhat unusual in the field.

Hummel has characterized his methodology by reviving the term "isagogics," which historically concerned itself with "questions of date, authorship, occasion, and purpose of writing" (p. 11). This approach has been expanded, however, to include ". . . the method of a sort of a running commentary of at least the highlights of the book, accenting isagogical matters as we try to state and reject typical critical positions and try to indicate the conservative alternative" (p. 15). This, then, is the heart of his methodology. As such he has combined certain features of the classical OTI genre, Bible survey, and biblical theology. Insofar as he is granted the right to pursue such a merger, his work may be termed a success.

Hummel knows, however, that he is not likely to be allowed this endeavor. He anticipates, for example, that the critics will score him for his "negativism" (p. 15). This is in spite of the fact that, for the most part, he has provided conservative alternatives to destructive critical attacks on Scripture. His attitude throughout the book is comparatively irenic. He appears able to interact on a more scholarly level with less true negativism than those who have reviewed the work.[1] In short, it appears that Hummel is far more aware of the nuances of liberalism than the liberals are aware of the conservative responses to their challenges. Often their responses seem to be little more than *argumentum ad hominem* rather than *ad rem*. At times, Hummel himself

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[1]See especially the review of Ralph Smith in *SWJT* 23 (1981) 99, who writes, "This book is an example of what a binding credal statement can do to biblical scholarship. This is a warped exposition of this discipline and if such scholarship continues long under the domination of the church's creed, it will become more narrow and harsh." In fact, there is very little evidence of Lutheran credalism anywhere in the book. The issue for Hummel is inerrancy, which is a matter of faith and presuppositionalism, not credalism.

seems to indulge in that when he disparages "fundamental literalism" (p. 280) in its insistence on a literal interpretation of Ezekiel 40–48. Perhaps there is a distinction between "fundamental literalism" and, say, "liberal literalism" that this reviewer has somehow missed.

There is so much in this book that is superb that it is hard to know where to begin. Perhaps the greatest strength of the work is his understanding of the essential unity of the two testaments (see especially pp. 62–63, 347–48). In short, he is not just a man skilled in the discipline of form criticism, text criticism, or historiography; rather, he is these as well as a superb theologian.

His skills as a text critic may be seen in his sound analysis of the Hebrew text which usually is found within each book discussion. His awareness of the discipline of "higher criticism" represents the highest professional standards. For example, his introduction to higher criticism (pp. 19–31) is, in my opinion, the best succinct treatment available. So devastating is his analysis of the weaknesses of higher criticism that one reviewer, rather hysterically, has claimed that ". . . he has returned to the pre-Gabler days, before 1787, when Biblical theology was captive to Dogmatic theology."[2] This is neither fair nor accurate. Hummel's guidelines are not drawn by creed or dogmatics. Quite simply, the guidelines for Hummel's work are stated on p. 13: "The Bible *is* [his emphasis] the Word of God," and "the canonical books are verbally inspired and inerrant."

Another feature of the book which makes it so useful is that Hummel (unlike some theologians) has a realistic perspective on the historiography. This is best reflected in his handling of the book of Judges and the monarchical period. In addition, his discussion on pp. 151–53 concerning the difficulties of exact chronology for the Israelite monarchy provides a marvelous introduction to the problems.

One last subject area of the book that I found enjoyable is the chapter on Wisdom. Once again Hummel demonstrates that the topic is neither irrelevant nor arcane. This is best demonstrated in the following quotation: "The real and ultimate 'uniqueness' of Biblical (and Christian) ethics is not in external behavior patterns . . . but in the theological context, motivations, or goals" (p. 397).

In spite of these "bouquets" I must, nonetheless, take issue with one specific and important area. At the heart of his system is the typological hermeneutic. To be sure, his use of typology must not be compared with earlier interpreters, whose efforts at finding the preincarnate Christ are not dissimilar to talmudic methods. Nonetheless, I had the distinct impression that no actual guidelines for the typological approach were ever established. In short, the book represents a personal *tour de force* in applied Christology. The following quotation perhaps best exemplifies that philosophy:

> That is to say that Old Testament history really is *our* [his emphasis] history via Christ. It too was accomplished "for us men and for our salvation," and into it

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[2]Ibid. For a more balanced, less pejorative perspective, see the review of Peter Craigie, *JBL* 100 (1981) 106–7, where he raises some legitimate criticisms not mentioned in this review.

too we were baptized. Since Christ is "Israel reduced to one," and since Israel's inner history was all recapitulated and consummated in Him, the 'new Israel,' the Church, expresses its identity and mission in terms of the promise given the old Israel. The difference between the testaments is not ultimately theological at all, but basically only that the first Israel was *both* [his emphasis] "church" and state, while in the age of the antitype or fulfillment the political (and accompanying ceremonial) scaffolding falls away (p. 17).

There is, of course, much with which the dispensationalist (and non-dispensationalist) can agree in that statement. The problem, however, is that he never really establishes the mechanics for knowing precisely when we have a type. He is fully aware of the need for "one literal sense" (p. 458), yet throughout the book expands his interpretations to types that are not said to be types. In the case of Canticles his methodology may be seen in the statement: "Whatever language is used, the *unity* [his emphasis] of the various levels of meaning must be accented. It will not be a matter of a multiple or even a double sense, but of varied aspects of the *unus sensus literalis*" (p. 504). It seems obvious that there is at least opportunity for some continued discussion on this typological approach.

The book is not without spelling errors (pp. 178, 379, but note especially the humorous misspelling on p. 48: "it is worth nothing [*sic*] that von Rad proposed . . ."). I suspect that there is an error on p. 123 where he has outlined 1 Samuel 8–15 as "Samuel and David," which should probably be "Samuel and Saul." On p. 130, "2 Chron 17" should be "2 Chron 7," while "gives" should be "give." On p. 490 there is a split infinitive and on p. 541, "The major exception in many critical eyes are 9:20–10:3 . . ." should read "is 9:20–10:3."

There are certainly other things which might be said about the book, including the author's good sense of humor (pp. 289, 315, 513). There are some excellent indexes which greatly enhance the usability of the volume as well. I feel that this work, especially for pastors, will remain one of the premier introductions to the OT. In one volume, Hummel has combined the best features of survey, history, and theology.

DONALD L. FOWLER

Aalders, G. Ch. *Genesis*. 2 vols. Pp. 311; 298. $24.95. Gispen, W. H. *Exodus*. Pp. 335. $15.95. Noordtzij, A. *Leviticus*. Pp. 280. $13.95. Noordtzij, A. *Numbers*. Pp. 384. $16.95. The Bible Student's Commentary. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1981–83.

Since the 1930s the commentary set *Korte Verklaring der Heilige Schrift* has been a mainstay for Christian European students of the Word. With the publication of Aalders's commentary on Genesis in 1981, Zondervan has launched an ambitious goal of translating the Dutch commentary into English. The publishers are to be commended warmly for this service. While these various volumes do not stand as the very best commentaries on each book, they do represent a fine level of scholarship and should be found in every serious minister's library.

Most of the series originally was published in the 1930s and 1940s, although there has been some attempt to update them into the 1960s. The series was originally intended for that ubiquitous audience, the lay reader. In that sense it can be read and understood by anyone. Its scholarship, however, is such that it can be read profitably by scholars as well. It is thoroughly conservative, representing the best of continental Reformed scholarship. The translational work is skillfully done, resulting in a readable, lucid style. Its value is enhanced by using the *NIV* as its commentary base. I am happy to recommend it to the readership of this journal.

DONALD L. FOWLER

Leviticus: An Introduction and Commentary, by R. K. Harrison. The Tyndale Old Testament Commentaries. Downers Grove: InterVarsity, 1980. Pp. 252. Cloth $10.95. Paper $5.95.

The remark by Qoheleth "the writing of many books is endless" (Qoh 12:12 *NASB*) is, in many ways, truly applicable in our days. Such, however, has not been the case in relation to evangelical scholars and the book of Leviticus. The fact that Leviticus is one of the most difficult books for Christians in our age and culture to understand, appreciate, and apply to the needs of the church makes the previous lack of attention to it all the more lamentable.

The evangelical church now has two fine commentaries upon which to rely for help in understanding this fascinating OT book: Gordon J. Wenham's book in the NICOT series (see the review by D. L. Fowler in *GTJ* 1 [1980] 101–3) and this commentary by R. K. Harrison. Both writers have been careful to treat the text with the integrity and realism that are required in an exegetical/expository commentary.

Harrison's book contains an introduction, a verse by verse commentary, and two appendices—Appendix A is a rendering of Leviticus 13 into semi-technical English and Appendix B is a discussion of sex and its theology. A balance between the detailed exegesis of the book of Leviticus and its application to the church is maintained with admirable success throughout the book. Some of his applications may be questionable, but he does not fall prey to the kind of typological interpretation which overlooks the actual meaning of the text in its historical and cultural context.

The introduction to this commentary is interesting for a number of reasons. Harrison has manifested previously (see his *Introduction to the OT*) that he is particularly adept at handling liberal higher critical theories of the authorship, date, composition, and unity of OT books. This expertise is also apparent here as he attacks such theories with arguments derived from ancient Near Eastern studies. He takes Lev 7:37–38 as a colophon for 1:1–7:36 much in the same manner as he sees the recurrent phrase "these are the generations of" in Gen 1:1–37:2 as marking colophons therein (see pp. 15, 25, 84–88). Thus, he sees the ancient (Mosaic) form of composition reflected in the present text which in turn is taken as an argument against the source critical and tradition critical approaches to the material. This approach to the Genesis

divisions has been disputed, but his general approach to introductory issues is undoubtedly of great value. For example, he cites the early date of other ancient Near Eastern priestly type materials as militating against the Well-hausenist source critical theory of the relatively late development of the "P" material in the OT (pp. 18–20, 23–24). Yet he does not stop there. He argues further against tradition criticism, which sees a relatively long oral tradition prior to the writing down of these traditions, by pointing out that the norm in the ancient Near East was the *simultaneous* promulgation of written and oral versions of important occurrences (pp. 20–21).

Harrison's introduction also includes sections on the purpose of the book, the theology of Leviticus, Leviticus and the NT, and the Hebrew text. It is in the section on the purpose of the book that he deals with the views of Mary Douglas concerning Leviticus 11–15. She is a social anthropologist whose basic contention is (as Harrison puts it) "that rituals of purity and impurity produce unity in experience, a holistic concept closely akin to the ancient Near Eastern tradition of the pairing of opposites to describe totality" (p. 28). Thus, "since holiness requires individuals to conform to the class to which they belong, the animals that do not exhibit the specified forms of locomotion, namely flying, walking, swimming and running, are unclean" (p. 28). Harrison disagrees with this structural anthropological approach to Leviticus 11–15 and prefers (against Wenham) to see these regulations as basically hygienic (pp. 28–29, 120ff.). His longstanding preoccupation with dietary, hygienic, and medical concerns in the Bible (witness his articles in Bible dictionaries etc.) may well have influenced his judgment on this matter.

A number of other remarks and positions in this commentary can be questioned seriously. For example, Harrison continues with his medically and hygienically oriented interpretations of dietary regulations by applying such concerns to the prohibitions against eating fat and blood (pp. 58, 82, 178). He does this although he is aware that fat was seen to be the Lord's portion because it was the choice portion (Deut 32:14, etc.) and blood was to go to the Lord because of its identification with the life of the victim (Lev 17:11, etc.).

A most perplexing omission in the book is the lack of any explicit reference to the major work of Jacob Milgrom (*Cult and Conscience: The 'Asham' and the Priestly Doctrine of Repentance*, 1976). Some of his remarks on the sin offering and the guilt offering lead me to believe, however, that he is familiar with Milgrom's work. Yet, at certain pivotal points he ignores him (see especially his discussion of 6:1–7). Even in such a small volume it would have been useful to find a more thorough interaction with Milgrom much like that which is found in regard to Douglas (see above). Related to this, in discussing the types of sin for which the OT sacrifices were efficacious as opposed to that of Christ, Harrison writes, "there is no ritual here or elsewhere in the Pentateuch to cover the sins of deliberate and conscious rebellion against God, expressed in such acts as adultery, idolatry, murder or blas-phemy. . . . Had the levitical sacrificial system covered every form of sin and catered for all possible contingencies of transgression, there could have been no room for the work of Christ, since under such conditions it would have been unnecessary" (p. 68; see similarly pp. 88, 173, 219). No matter how one

interprets "unwittingly" ("unintentionally," *NASB*) in 4:2 and regardless of how Num 15:30–31 is understood, this theological construct is certainly unfounded. Harrison might have at least interacted with the work of Milgrom and others on this matter especially since his understanding of the implications of these passages is one that is weak and vacillating (see pp. 60 and 173 and compare Milgrom, *Cult and Conscience*, p. 124). Beyond that, the OT sacrifices, unlike that of Christ, were never intended to bring forgiveness unto eternal life. Rather, they were primarily meant to regulate worship and lifestyle of the nation Israel in relation to its theocratic king. Thus, they functioned on a different level and the statement made by Harrison does not reckon with that fact. Certainly the sacrifices could not deal with such sins as murder, adultery, etc. since this system was not just "religious" but also "civil."

The attempt to attribute suzerainty treaty form to Leviticus 18 (note the misprint of "14" for "18" on p. 183) is not convincing. The same can be said for his application of Gen 15:10 to Lev 1:6 (p. 46), as well as his contention that the guilt offering was not expiatory in nature when used in the cleansing of the leper (p. 151). Harrison's understanding of *kipper* ("to make atonement") is confusing (pp. 66–67). He thinks that sometimes it means "to wipe clean" while at other times it means "to cover." He should have held to the former and excluded the latter.

Despite the weaknesses of this commentary, its value is not to be diminished. His handling of the issues surrounding leaven (pp. 54–55), the purificatory nature of the sin offering (p. 61), leprosy (pp. 136–39), and sex (pp. 248–52) is masterful. Furthermore, he has done a marvelous job of weaving helpful and relevant references to the ancient Near East into his discussions (pp. 41–42, 45, 215, 228–29, etc.).

This is a fine commentary and is especially suitable for Bible students without background in Hebrew and ancient Near Eastern studies. For more advanced readers Wenham's commentary is preferred, but Harrison's should not be ignored. Harrison has given us yet another fine tool for our exegesis and exposition of the OT. He is to be congratulated.

RICHARD E. AVERBECK

The Book of Jeremiah, by J. A. Thompson. The New International Commentary on the Old Testament. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980. Pp. xii + 819. $22.50

Completion of a commentary on the book of Jeremiah is a noteworthy accomplishment on at least two counts. The Bible commentary is a difficult medium through which to communicate hermeneutical data about a biblical book. The writer of the commentary is faced with difficulties resulting from a broadly scattered spectrum of readers, the realities about publishing and marketing, the management and implementation of a vast number of sources of information, etc. Added to these difficulties are those attending the interpretation of the Jeremiah material (the text and its composition and structure). And there are the interpretive challenges occasioned by the book's

particularly prominent presentations such as the audience quotations and reactions and the notations about pseudoprophets.

The question, then, is: How well does Thompson's commentary meet all of these interpretive challenges? I wish to answer this question by arranging my remarks according to the two major points Thompson discusses in his book, "Introduction" (pp. 1–136) and "Text and Commentary" (pp. 137–784). His introduction to the book is extensive and generally provides a good survey of the salient topics requiring attention. The discussion covers typical introductory entries ("Jeremiah in His Historical Setting," pp. 9–26, and "The Life of Jeremiah," pp. 94–106, to name but two). Entries which require special attention in the case of the Jeremiah material are also included ("The Book of Jeremiah" [structure and composition], pp. 27–50, and "Some Important Issues For Exegesis" [Jeremiah and the cultus, symbolic actions, relation of the book to Hosea, etc.], pp. 50–94). One of the values of the introduction is that it puts together in one place a good compendium of these helpful pieces of information.

But for all its extensiveness, the introduction is, I think, not without several weaknesses. Among the more bothersome is Thompson's failure to articulate clearly the method by which he handles the MT/LXX questions about the text of Jeremiah. He notes (p. 119) that the Qumran community had a longer and shorter form of the text available to them (cf. 4QJer[a] and 4QJer[b]). However, while rightly acknowledging this fact, Thompson fails to articulate what evidence and procedure lead him to prefer a LXX reading here and a MT reading there. In the same way, while pointing out some, but not all, of the LXX omissions (p. 120), he nowhere spells out his underlying methodology. If we are to have a text to comment upon, we must have a carefully worked out discriminating principle for determining the text. And if we have one, it must be indicated. Added to this failure is the even more striking dislocation of the discussion on the text of Jeremiah. It is not even included under the heading "Some Important Issues for Exegesis." Surely the principles by which a given reading is discriminated is at the heart of exegetical work.

Furthermore, the introductory material provides little in the way of new material; it is principally an eclectic approach. But even in using this approach, there is a failure to include in the introductory material a brief history of the Christian community's labor on the book. Thus, little attention is given to the antecedents of modern interpretive work. Legitimate contemporary exegetical work does not operate in isolation from a given book's history of interpretation. Thompson's work could have been enhanced by a clearer record of how this commentary interfaces with the church's previous interpretive work. Such an inclusion would have underscored the importance of the redeemed as community.

Moreover, a remark must be made about the too brief and principally English bibliography (pp. 131–36). Even though the NICOT series is not targeted solely for a scholarly readership, one would expect a commentary of over 800 pages on such an important book as Jeremiah to contain a bibliography of more than these few pages and a disclaimer that those more serious students "will want to consult those works marked with an asterisk

for additional extensive bibliography" (p. 131). Clearly the remainder of Thompson's commentary shows his awareness and control of far more extensive materials (and those other than simply English works). A much more extensive bibliography would have been a service to the readers. Inclusion of such works as Karl-Ferdinand Pohlman, *Studien zum Jeremiabuch (FRLANT)*, Winfried Thiel, *Die deuteronomistische Redaktion von Jeremia 1–25*, Helga Weippert, *Die Prosareden des Jeremiabuches* (BZAW), H. J. Kraus, *Prophetie in der Krisis*, and H. W. Wolff, *Das Zitat im Prophetenspruch* would have been appropriate. Numerous articles might have been included. The following are but a sample of the wide variety of secondary sources that are available: P. R. Ackroyd, "The Temple Vessels—A Continuity Theme," *Studies in the Religion of Ancient Israel* (VTSup 22; Leiden: Brill, 1972) 166–81; J. F. Craghan, "The ARM X 'Prophetic' Texts: Their Media, Style, and Structure," *JANESCU* 6 (1977) 39–57; and J. H. Hayes, "The Tradition of Zion's Inviolability," *JBL* 82 (1963) 419–26. And works such as C. E. Tilson's older dissertation (Vanderbilt, 1951), "False Prophets in the Old Testament," would also have provided interesting breadth to the bibliography.

The second major section of Thompson's work concerns the "Text and Commentary" (pp. 137–784). Thompson offers a basically good translation and commentary. He provides the reader with a discussion of the ancient Near Eastern treaty background which is vital to understanding Jeremiah. Along the way he furnishes summaries of archaeological work which bear on the understanding of the material. Although the commentary is not replete with such, it does give brief discussions of cognate usages. The commentary is generally restrained in its assertions, judicious in its use of sources, and cautious in its conclusions—all marks of sensible scholarship. In spite of these and other good qualities, there are several areas where the text and commentary section evidences weakness. Whereas in the introduction Thompson discusses the message of Jeremiah (pp. 107–17) both to the prophet's own and to future generations, the commentary fails to provide reflection on how the post-587 B.C. era may have helped to shape the present arrangement of material in the book. The shaping process no doubt came about as attempts were made to apply the prophet's teachings to the needs of the exilic people. Both T. Raitt's 1977 work, *A Theology of Exile*, and R. Klein's 1979 work, *Israel in Exile*, address this issue. Discussion within the commentary at this level would have enabled the reader to interact more intelligently with the Jeremiah tradition. As the commentary stands, this lack tends to draw the Jeremiah material out of an ongoing tradition and to hamper an understanding of its ongoing relevancy.

Furthermore, the quality of the commentary would have been enhanced by more interaction with rhetorical criticism as this has been applied to the Jeremiah corpus. For example, while Thompson does note the employment within the book of the rhetorical question (cf. pp. 189–90), there is little, if any, use made of this observation in his discussion at 2:14, 31; 3:5; 5:9, 29; 8:4, 18–23; 9:8; 14:19–22; 23:23–24; 30:6; 31:20; etc. (cf. W. A. Brueggemann, "Jeremiah's Use of Rhetorical Questions," *JBL* 92 [1973] 358–74). When discussing the notations which refer to reactions to bad news (6:24; 49:23;

50:43), Thompson's discussion does not reflect any awareness of the use made
of this device as a literary convention (cf. the brief discussion of D. R. Hillers,
"A Convention in Hebrew Literature: The Reaction to Bad News," *ZAW* 77
[1965] 86–90) in the ancient Near East. The convention is used in Ugaritic
literature in ʾnt III 29–32, 51 II 12–20, 1 Aqht 93–96, and 125, 53–54 (cf.
C. Gordon's *Ugaritic Textbook*). And even in Jeremiah 2, while noting that
"the whole chapter has strong reminiscences of a legal form" (p. 159), Thomp-
son gives little presentation of the implementation and results of this impor-
tant note. Further, literary analysis of how the eleven quotations within the
chapter are employed in its form and rhetoric is left untouched (cf. T. W.
Overholt, "Jeremiah 2 and the Problem of 'Audience Reaction,'" *CBQ* 91
[1979] 262–73).

In the light of these observations an answer can be given to the initial
question of this review: How well does Thompson's commentary meet the
challenges confronting the commentator on the Jeremiah material? The an-
swer must be a guarded, "Fairly well." The commentary provides a good
synthesis of material which will be easily accessible to the average reader.
However, for serious students of Jeremiah there are several noteworthy weak-
nesses. These weaknesses are not a reflection on Thompson's scholarship.
They are a reflection, rather, on the weaknesses attending the medium of
a Bible commentary, a medium with considerable limitations. Given this
medium, Thompson's commentary is recommended and surely his love for
Jeremiah provides a noteworthy example for other students of Jeremiah to
emulate.

RONALD E. MANAHAN

Jewish Sects at the Time of Jesus, by Marcel Simon. Trans. James H. Farley.
Philadelphia: Fortress, 1967, reprinted 1980. Pp. xii + 180. $5.95. Paper.

This work is a translation of *Les sectes juives au temps de Jesus*, published
by Presses universitaires de France in 1960. Thus the 1980 reprint comes
twenty years after the book first appeared. Simon states that his method was
to utilize the unpublished notes of the late Roger Goossens of the Free
University of Brussels. There are six chapters, written in a nontechnical man-
ner, concerning such matters as (1) definition of a Jewish sect, (2) the major
and minor sects, (3) the Dead Sea Scrolls, (4) Alexandrian Judaism, and
(5) influences on Christianity. The translation has been done quite well; the
book reads smoothly and clearly.

One of the strongest and most helpful sections of the book is its survey
of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the identity of the inhabitants of Khirbet Qumran
(pp. 47–84). Simon argues convincingly that the Qumran monastics fit into
the general category of "Essenes." Other views of the matter are discussed
and the problems of the Essene view are identified and answered (pp. 55–70).
The chapter on Philo and Alexandrian Judaism was similarly helpful
(pp. 108–30). The relationship between the Jewish sects and Christianity,
handled in the last chapter (pp. 131–54), is portrayed judiciously and cau-
tiously. Other strengths of the book are its footnotes which suggest further

reading for beginning students and its short glossary (pp. 157–60) which briefly defines terms that are largely unintelligible to beginners.

All of these features combine to make Simon's work a helpful introductory study. However, two important weaknesses cripple its effectiveness. First, academically, the book was twenty years old when reprinted and is somewhat outdated. Instead of a mere reprint, a revision would have been in order. Second, theologically, the book makes no allowance for the claim of the NT to be special divine revelation. Although Christianity is viewed both *in* and *against* its Jewish sect environment, a supernatural perspective is totally lacking. Such a supernatural perspective, viewing Jesus Christ as God's unique Son and the gospels as inspired documents, would aid the author immensely. Inerrantists will not accept Simon's views that (1) the NT is prejudiced, not objective (pp. 23, 26–27, 30), (2) the rabbinical literature corrects the NT (p. 29), (3) the biblical authors "place" speeches in the mouths of Jesus and Stephen (pp. 29, 99), and (4) the synoptics contradict each other (p. 151). Although Simon speaks of "extremists" who deny the historical connections of Christian origins (pp. 143–44), he apparently is not aware that his own implicitly antisupernatural approach is also extremist, though at the other end of the theological spectrum.

There are two typographical errors on p. 32 (indivdual) and p. 61 (insistance).

DAVID L. TURNER

The Acts of the Apostles, by I. Howard Marshall. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980. Pp. 427. $6.95. Paper.

In recent years the publishers of the *Tyndale New Testament Commentaries* have been replacing selected volumes with newer ones, representing changing needs and current scholarship. This volume by Marshall replaces the one by E. M. Blaiklock which is more than twenty years old.

Three reasons, two stated and one implied, are indicated to justify these replacement volumes. Blaiklock's emphasis was to develop his commentary against the background of the Graeco-Roman period; it is essentially a "historical commentary" (p. 9). Marshall's efforts include an emphasis upon the theological substance and impact of Acts, making his work more comprehensive and complete. Marshall also states, as a second reason, his desire to interact with and react to the liberal scholarship in the commentary by E. Haenchen, whose work was published at the same time as Blaiklock's, but which has gone essentially unanswered by conservative scholarship (pp. 9, 35).

Although of lesser importance, a third justification for these new volumes is the reading habits of Bible students. The earlier commentaries were based upon the Authorized and Revised Versions of the Bible. Today, in overwhelming numbers, Christians are reading and studying from a variety of modern translations. So it was thought advantageous to produce commentaries which coincide with the need of Bible readers for the more recent translations.

These volumes are advertised as "exegetical rather than homiletic" (p. 5), although the author intended that there be "sufficient pointers" for expository

treatment of the text of Acts (p. 10). Moreover, according to Leon Morris, the general editor, "These books are written to help the nontechnical reader to understand his Bible better" (p. 5). While it is not the design of the commentary to deal at length with the many critical problems which arise in Acts, the volume is written with an obvious cognizance of the issues. The reader is always aware that Marshall has sufficient grasp of these matters to render scholarly judgment upon them.

Perhaps the first virtue and improvement which the reader encounters in this newer commentary is the bibliographies (pp. 11–15), consisting of articles from scholarly theological journals as well as an impressive list of books by more than thirty recognized authors, representing a breadth of opinion. Consequently, the book is nicely documented throughout, especially in the chapter on introductory matters.

To this reviewer, one of the chief values of Marshall's effort is his work in the introduction. It is here that the difference between Marshall and Blaiklock is most easily demonstrated. The earlier volume by Blaiklock deals with some routine introductory matters such as the authorship and date, but its particular emphasis is almost exclusively upon the historical context and the world of Acts. Marshall adds valuable discussion on the purpose of Acts, summarizing that "what Acts does in effect is to show how the salvation which was manifested by Jesus during his earthly life in a limited area of the country and for a brief period became a reality for increasing numbers of people over a wide geographical area and during an extended period of time" (p. 20).

Another highlight of the present volume is Marshall's synopsis of Luke's theology as expressed in Acts (pp. 23–34). In contradistinction to current existential thought that faith is independent of historical fact, Luke emphasizes that God's work in Acts is a continuation of the acts of God recorded in the OT and that Acts is a record of "all that Jesus *began* [emphasis mine] to do and teach." Faith is grounded in and intrinsically tied to historical fact and reality. Moreover, the theology of Acts is based upon the will and purpose of God, is the fulfillment of certain specific Scriptures, is manifested in the life of the early church, and is confirmed in the mighty signs done in the authority of Christ.

Marshall is satisfied that the mission and message of Acts is summarized in Acts 1:8, and that the entire book is a rehearsal of the fulfillment of this prophetic message. Marshall's articulation of the gospel message, i.e., that Jesus died and was raised from the dead and that only through him is the forgiveness of sins, is quite orthodox and Marshall remains faithful to this theological center-piece throughout his commentary.

A third theological theme, as Marshall sees it, is Luke's concern with the opposition that surrounds the spread of the gospel. This opposition was consistent and harsh and was perpetuated by both officials and ordinary people, yet the gospel prevailed according to God's will as his people remained faithful to its message and its propagation. A fourth prominent theological theme in Acts is the inclusion of gentiles in the gospel program along with the increasing refusal by Jews to accept the gospel message. Marshall includes some excellent discussion on these matters.

A final theological aspect of Acts is addressed in a helpful fashion by Marshall. It concerns the life and organization of the early church, including comments on the worship of the church, the role of the Holy Spirit, the first leadership (with special emphasis on Peter and Paul), and early missionary practices and styles.

A most cogent and helpful section of Marshall's introductory remarks deals with more recent (19th-century) attempts by liberal scholarship to debunk the historicity of the Acts. Against the background of the efforts of the Tübingen school of criticism to assert that Acts is nothing more than an effort to gloss over severe Petrine and Pauline conflicts, Marshall rehearses the work of men like Sir William Ramsey and F. F. Bruce to re-establish and endorse the historical value of Acts. Rejoinders were filed among continental skeptics such as Dibelius, Conzelmann, and the individual of primary concern to Marshall, E. Haenchen. Marshall correctly laments that this skeptical viewpoint about Acts yet prevails. In a very succinct and credible fashion Marshall attempts to argue against this prevailing view.

He does so by first surmising why such skepticism has arisen. Moreover, the author cites the research of A. D. Sherwin-White to establish that it can be demonstrated that Luke's portrayal of the Roman scene is indeed remarkably accurate. Marshall's theological integrity is demonstrated in his discussion of the problem of sources for Luke's work. He acknowledges that the author of Acts was obviously dependent upon sources but also admits that these sources are not always clearly identifiable. Of course, the most natural understanding of the so-called "we sections" suggest that for some of his material, Luke used his own eyewitness experiences as well.

Another aspect of Marshall's work, one which is rarely addressed in commentaries on Acts, is Luke's use of and recording of the numerous "speeches" that appear in Acts. Critics have suggested that these speeches or sermons were the inventions of Luke, with no basis in historical fact. Our author makes several suggestions which place this issue in honest perspective: (1) since it takes only minutes to read these speeches, it is unlikely that the speeches were really that short, therein indicating Luke summarized them; (2) it is quite improbable that his audience remembered all that Jesus said, therefore suggesting that Luke depended upon summarized accounts which were passed to him; (3) in some places it is obvious that Luke did not intend to render a verbatim account, therefore indicating that he intended to write only the general sense of certain messages; and (4) there are obvious occasions when it was impossible for Luke to have known precisely what was said by given individuals (e.g., conversations in private apartments, 25:13–22; 26:30–32), thus requiring Luke either to express the kind of exchange which *probably* took place or to depend upon summaries recalled by participants or sympathizers. Marshall honestly concludes: "The effect of these comments is to show that Luke could and did compose appropriate remarks for his speakers, and that we do him an injustice if we expect from him verbatim accounts of each and every speech" (p. 42).

Regarding Marshall's commentary on the text of Acts, the reader will find his work useful and reliably orthodox. One should not expect extensive comment on all the issues which arise in Acts, but the reader can expect

scholarly, succinct, and cogent comments made in the context of full aware-
ness of the exegetical issues and conundrums which will arise in biblical
studies.

Throughout his commentary the author pays allegiance to the full his-
toricity of the events recorded in Acts. His treatment of the filling of the Holy
Spirit is traditional. He affirms that the phenomenon of tongues in Acts 2
consisted of a mixture of both foreign languages and ecstatic speech. In spite
of a rare vague comment (e.g., p. 115 and the use of the word "superstition"
regarding Peter's healing in Acts 5:12–16), his view of the miraculous events
in Acts is orthodox.

Marshall's treatment of certain complex uses of OT prophetic passages
(e.g., Joel 2:28–32 in Acts 2; "times of refreshing" and "period of restoration"
in Acts 3) are unstrained and credible. Another example of the scholarship
and style of Marshall and the Tyndale series is the treatment of the textual
problems in Stephen's speech in Acts 7. The commentary reveals knowledge
of the issues, but does not contain laborious discussion of them. The reader
must follow the documentation and trace out that argumentation. Rather,
Marshall provides brief value judgment responses to those cases and quickly
proceeds to state his own case and rationale.

This replacement volume in the Tyndale series is a much needed and
important book. Marshall, who is Senior Lecturer in New Testament Exegesis
at the University of Aberdeen in Scotland and noted author of several other
excellent works (e.g., contributor to the NICNT and the NIGTC), has com-
bined high scholarship with a lucid and succinct style. This commentary has
been designed to attract a wide range of readers. It is theologically and
exegetically sound and contains no major flaws. Perhaps this volume, along
with the rest of the Tyndale series, could have been dressed up with maps and
pictures of pertinent sites. These would help the reader to trace the comings
and goings in Acts and to visualize the context more adequately. Of course,
all of this would have added substantially to the cost of the series. In an age
when many helpful atlases and other resources are available, the publishers
apparently favored a more inexpensive series with the emphasis placed upon
exegetical-theological content. Given the rising cost of books these days, this
approach is thoughtful and appreciated by many.

The Tyndale series, and this volume by Marshall in particular, is highly
recommended.

SKIP FORBES

New Testament Commentary: Exposition of Paul's Epistle to the Romans, by
William Hendriksen. Grand Rapids: Baker, 1980–81. Pp. ix + 533. $17.95.

William Hendriksen was born in Holland on November 18, 1900. He
moved to America when he was ten years old. Eventually he graduated from
Calvin College, Calvin Seminary, and Princeton Seminary. Known by many
as a pastor, a teacher, and an author, he died on January 12, 1982. From his
pen had come commentaries on all four gospels and on all the pauline epistles

except 1 and 2 Corinthians. His first commentary was on John, and the last one completed before his death was on Romans.[1] Readers of Hendriksen's commentaries will be happy to know that Simon Kistemaker of Reformed Seminary, Jackson, Mississippi, has been asked by the publisher to complete the series.

In an earlier review (*GTJ* 2 [1981] 347–49), volume one of the Romans commentary (Romans 1–8) was discussed. Now the commentary is available in a one volume edition. This review will cover only a few specifics from the section on Romans 9–16.

A weakness of many Romans commentaries is the tendency to see chapters 9–11 as parenthetical, not as an integral part of the epistle. Here Hendriksen's commentary is not an exception. There needs to be more explanation of the logical argument of 9–11 and of its place in the general argument of the epistle. Once one begins to read the comments on individual sections in these chapters, however, many helpful insights are found. I especially appreciated the frank discussion of election and reprobation which follows the comments on Rom 9:10–13 (pp. 320–24). Both the positive statements and the answers to objections are very helpful.

Dispensationalists will profit from the discussion of the major views of "all Israel shall be saved" (Rom 11:26, pp. 379–82). Of course, many will not agree with Hendriksen that "all Israel" simply refers to an elect remnant from Israel. Here Hendriksen takes essentially the same view as O. P. Robertson ("Is There a Distinctive Future for Ethnic Israel in Romans 11?," *Perspectives on Evangelical Theology* [ed. K. S. Kantzer and S. N. Gundry; Grand Rapids: Baker, 1979] 209–27) that Romans 11 describes the present process where individual Israelites receive Christ. A future conversion of the nation is not in view. Dispensationalists should be aware that this approach to the chapter is more formidable than the old interpretation that "all Israel" referred to the Church.

The problem of the weak and the strong (14:1–15:13) is another place where more depth would have helped. Although there is a brief introduction to the issue (pp. 452–55), more needs to be said. Was this simply a Jew (weak) vs. Gentile (strong) problem (p. 453)? It appears to be more complicated than that, since Jews were not vegetarians (14:2).

In the final section of the commentary, Hendriksen simply but ably defends the unity of the epistle. He even includes an appendix arguing for the genuineness of 16:25–27 (pp. 521–23). Here he shows some qualified appreciation for the work of Harry Gamble on *The Textual History of the Letter to the Romans* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1977). Also in the exposition of chapter 16 it is refreshing to see Hendriksen exonerate Paul from the charge of being a woman hater. Though he does not believe Phoebe (16:1–2) was an official deaconess, he still emphasizes the crucial role played by women in the ministry of the church (pp. 499–501).

In summary, it is still true that the commentaries of William Hendriksen are among the best general purpose commentaries available today. It seems

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[1]For biographical information on Hendriksen, see *The Banner of Truth* 223 (1982) 1–13.

appropriate here to conclude with a challenge to both pastors and professors
to emulate Hendriksen's example. As a professor, I could wish that the
comments were more detailed, and that they showed more interaction with
Cranfield, Käsemann, and the scholarly journals. On the other hand, some
pastors probably wish that there was more devotional material here. There is
a lesson in all of this for both pastors and professors. Pastors should be
proficient enough in their studies to write a commentary like this. And profes-
sors should be concerned enough for Christ's church to write accurate commen-
taries which are down-to-earth and readable. For the average pastor, this
could mean more time in the study. For the average professor, this could
mean more time for the people in the pews. May Hendriksen's life and work
challenge both pastors and professors toward a more balanced ministry.

DAVID L. TURNER

Chronological and Background Charts of the New Testament, by H. Wayne
House. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1981. $10.95. Pp. 156.

All students of the NT—be they scholars, professors, pastors, students,
or laymen—owe a debt of gratitude to Wayne House for one of the most
concise, clear, and extensive overviews of NT backgrounds in print. In
reviewing the work, I found myself repeatedly echoing the sentiment of
Harold Hoehner in the foreward: "Wayne House has put in one volume
information that would take a library of books to give, in a format beneficial
to all who read and study their Bible."
    The book is divided into four large sections: 1. General Material (18
charts with an emphasis on certain aspects of bibliology as well as weights
and measures), 2. Backgrounds to the New Testament (24 charts with
emphases on the various political situations and first-century Judaism),
3. The Gospels (19 charts with an emphasis on the synoptic problem and
chronological schemes related to Christ's life), and 4. The Apostolic Age (15
charts with an emphasis on Acts and the Revelation).
    Like hors d'oeuvres at an elegant affair, page after page is filled with new
and delightful tidbits which all stimulate the mind, creating a hunger for
more. House has masterfully canvassed many of the most significant topics
for NT backgrounds and has presented them in an easily digestible format.
Such a great diversity of information is here at a glance! *Some* of the charts I
found most helpful (especially in their clarity and brevity) were "The New
Testament Canon During the First Four Centuries" (p. 22), "Theories Con-
cerning the History of the Text" (p. 24), "Money" (p. 27), "A Genealogical
Chart of the Herodian Dynasty" (p. 72), "The Reckoning of Passover"
(p. 81), "Chronology of the Ministry of Jesus" (p. 102) with "An Alternate
Chronological Table of Christ's Life" (p. 104), "A Chronology of the Apostolic
Age" (pp. 127–28) with "An Alternate Chronology" (pp. 129–32), and
"Theories of Literary Structures of Revelation" (p. 146).
    The volume, however, is not entirely praiseworthy, though I believe that
the several minor flaws I noticed could be corrected in subsequent editions.
First of all, because House relies so extensively on previously published

charts, there are several major overlaps, rendering some of the charts unnecessary. For example, "Books of the New Testament Classified Doctrinally" (p. 20) and "Theological Emphases and Order of New Testament Letters" [sic] (p. 21) overlap at virtually every point, though both were presumably from two different printed sources. It is suggested that House revise these charts and make them one by harmonizing the virtually synonymous material. A similar overlapping of data (though inconsistently) occurs in the charts "Paul's Missionary Journeys" (pp. 124–26) (in which the dates of Paul's letters are not mentioned), "A Chronology of the Apostolic Age" (pp. 127–28) (in which the dates of all NT books are listed), and "An Alternate Chronology" (pp. 129–32) (in which dates of Paul's letters only are mentioned).

Second, several charts were simply *too* brief: they lacked sufficient explanation for the average student. For example, "The Structure of Roman Society" (p. 54) lists classes of men from emperor to slave, though with no definition of terms (such as quaestor and plebian) and without an indication of *type* of classification: is it political, military or related to wealth? As well, "The Ptolemies" (p. 67), "The Seleucids" (p. 68), "The Maccabees" (p. 69), and the "Hasmoneans" (p. 70) all require explanation as to their function (political? religious?) and geographical area of influence.

Third, due to the nature of the charts there are too many generalizations. For example, in "Interpretations of Revelation" (p. 145) and "Theological Perspectives on Revelation" (p. 145) the futurist/premillennial approach allegedly sees the churches of Revelation 2–3 (though House lumps the first three chapters together) as "Historic churches representative of historical stages." To my knowledge, most non-dispensational premillennialists do not view these churches as "seven stages of church history" (ibid.) and there also seems to be a growing consensus among dispensationalists that these churches are not chronologically typical of the present dispensation.

Fourth, the sources used to compile the charts needed to be mentioned more often. For example, the list of "New Testament Quotations of Old Testament Passages" (pp. 28–32) seemed rather conservative to me. It would have been helpful to know the source as well as whether these were formal quotations (i.e., with introductory formulas) or both formal and informal. The "Selected New Testament Prophecies and Their Fulfillment in the New Testament Period" chart (pp. 33–36) could have mentioned the basis of the selection. The "Cities of the Seven Churches of the Apocalypse" (p. 62) whet the appetite with such helpful information that one could only wish for a brief bibliography. I would hope that in future editions, the sources for *every* chart are mentioned (even though in many cases this would entail a multiple listing).

Fifth, in the interpretive charts (e.g., "The Destination of the Letter to the Galatians" [pp. 136–39], "Theories of Literary Structures of Revelation" [p. 146]) some of the more articulate advocates for the various views as well as individual arguments ought to be mentioned as was done with "Theories Concerning the Authorship of Hebrews" (pp. 140–44).

Sixth, some of the charts were confusing in their symbolism. For example, in "Literary Relationships of the Synoptic Gospels" (p. 88) Mark

apparently has *no* relation to Matthew or Luke! Another arrow or two could have cleared up the fog.

Seventh, some of the charts were incomplete. The chart on the "Theories Concerning the History of the Text" (p. 24) should have added a section on Zane Hodges's view (majority text) as well as G. D. Kilpatrick's (eclectic). "Prominent Persons of the New Testament" (pp. 44–46) omitted all of the disciples, James, Jude, Paul, and the Lord Jesus. It might better have been entitled "Semi-Prominent Persons." The "Suggested Solutions to the Synoptic Problem" (p. 89) did not suggest a Matthean-priority scheme.

Eighth, some of the titles lacked sufficient description. "The Ministry of Christ" (p. 105) should have "Chronology" in the title. "An Alternate Chronology" (pp. 129–32) should have added "of the Apostolic Age." "Corinthian Correspondence and Visits" (p. 135) should add "Paul's" at its inception. "Theories of Literary Structures of Revelation" (p. 146) only dealt with the judgments, not the whole book.

Finally, for future editions one would hope for some additional charts such as "Theories on the Nature of NT Greek" and "Arguments on the Authorship of the Pastorals, 1–2 Peter, etc." (This last suggestion brings to the fore the clash between liberals and conservatives—an item which seems to have been studiously avoided throughout the work.)

Though these criticisms are numerous, one must remember that the reviewer's task of criticism pales by significance of with the author's task of creation. I, for one, heartily recommend this volume in its present state and eagerly anticipate future editions which will only serve to enrich this substantial effort.

DANIEL B. WALLACE
MUKILTEO, WA

Epistemology: The Justification of Belief, by David L. Wolfe. Downers Grove: InterVarsity, 1982. Pp. 92. $3.95.

Epistemology: The Justification of Belief is the first offering in the InterVarsity Press series "Contours of Christian Philosophy" edited by C. Stephen Evans. Projected volumes in the series include *Metaphysics* by William Hasker, *Ethics* by Arthur Holmes and *Philosophy of Religion* by editor Evans.

Teachers and students of philosophy, apologetics, and theology will be equally pleased with this well-written and well-reasoned essay. The plan of the book is (1) to describe and criticize strategies philosophers have proposed for providing warrant for belief; (2) to see which strategies have the prospect of being successful in justifying belief; and (3) to set out the lines by which a plausible attempt at justifying belief could be carried out (pp. 16–17).

Every beginning student in philosophy and apologetics will profit from the brief but cogent analysis of the five basic approaches to justify beliefs in chapter two. This part of the book warrants recommending it as a required text for students in introductory courses in philosophy, epistemology, and apologetics.

The problem of criteria is the subject of chapter three. World views are seen as having central core beliefs that cannot be justified in the same way that empirical assertions can be justified. These control-beliefs form the most general unlimited theoretical structure of a world view. A fourfold criteria of consistency (no contradiction), coherence (internal relatedness of statements), comprehensiveness (inclusive of all experience), and congruity (the fit of the scheme to experience) is proposed as the basis for warranting the interpretive scheme (p. 55). Application of the criteria demands carefulness in interpreting statements within the context of the interpretive scheme as well as the evaluative role of experience. When the criteria have been carefully applied through time, the status of the warranted beliefs becomes corroborated or plausible. Expectations concerning the epistemological status of these beliefs must be revised. Proof of beliefs is not to be expected; rather corroboration or plausibility is the best that can be achieved. Interpretive schemes are thus criticized internally by experiences to determine whether they are adequately congruent with reality.

The final chapter asserts that faith and reason are complementary aspects of the warranting process. All systems involve faith. The key question is whether the system can survive testing (pp. 71, 72). Religious commitment and criticism are viewed as compatible for the criticism of religious beliefs, much like the criticism of everyday beliefs.

David L. Wolfe has provided an important essay on a major philosophical issue. His use of sources and his style of writing tend to keep his philosophical commitments in the background. Methodologically he suggests that each person start to test his beliefs from where he is. As long as the interpretive scheme does not succumb to criticism, it should be followed. When it breaks down, one should go to a scheme that offers the best values and the most hope. As it is tested through time by the criteria and their appropriate application, it can become corroborated. One should start with Christianity and see how well it stands when it is subjected to active criticism (p. 68).

The apologetical implications of the essay are now evident as are the author's understanding of theological anthropology. Perhaps my problem with both of these needs to be submitted to active criticism and I will find that my core beliefs in these areas can no longer be warranted. Until that occurs, this book is recommended as a creative and well-reasoned essay based in the tradition of axiopistic apologetics.

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JAMES M. GRIER
Dean, GRAND RAPIDS BAPTIST SEMINARY

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The Great Debate: Calvinism, Arminianism, and Salvation, by Alan P. F. Sell. Reprint, Grand Rapids: Baker, 1983. Pp. 141. $5.95. Paper.

As I picked up this book I was hoping to find a careful discussion of the theological and exegetical issues distinctive of the theological systems identified in the title. I was disappointed by the discovery that the book is more historical than theological. The author traces the history of this major controversy from the 17th through the 19th centuries. The research involved is awesome, and it is often tiring to wade through the lists of little-known

combatants in the debate. On the other hand, there are many quotations from notable contenders such as Calvin, Arminius, Baxter, Owen, Whitefield, Wesley, Toplady, and Gill.

A three-page glossary gives definitions of twenty-one key terms. Unfortunately, the definitions are too brief, too dated, and too ambiguous to be entirely satisfactory. There also seems to be some lack of consistency in the use of technical terms in the text itself. The term 'supralapsarianism' is defined in the glossary as "the view that the decree of predestination includes the decree to create man and to permit him to fall" (p. 101). By this definition Calvin would certainly be a supralapsarian and Sell properly labels this as the classical rather than the modern usage (p. 99). But in the text, Beza is represented as going beyond Calvin in "developing a supralapsarian scheme" (p. 3). It is later acknowledged that "Calvin inclines toward supralapsarianism" (p. 19), but the term "inclines" is far too weak if the classical meaning of the term is intended.

A similar problem appears with the term "universalism," which is defined in the glossary as "the doctrine that by the mercy of God all men shall at last be saved, albeit *via* the purgation of death" (p. 101). But when Amyraldism is discussed, it is noted that this view was later labelled as "hypothetic universalism" (p. 30) (I wish that it had been noted that this is an unfair and highly prejudiced label). Apparently the concept of "universal atonement" is later expressed as a "universalism," since there are frequent references to the "universalism" of the Arminians (pp. 76, 79), some Calvinists (p. 94), and of Wesley (p. 124).

Sell specifically places himself on the Calvinistic side of the controversy. This reviewer must disagree with his classification of limited atonement as a "crucial doctrine" (p. 41), and with his commitment to regeneration as antecedent to repentance and belief (p. 98). Sell does, however, plead for amelioration of Calvinism, and rightly labels Arminianism as "not strictly a heresy, but as a dangerous error" (p. 23).

This is not the book for one who is trying to develop convictions relative to the Arminian/Calvinistic issues. History buffs and professional theologians will find that the copious documentation provides a useful resource tool.

<div align="right">CHARLES R. SMITH</div>

Soviet Evangelicals Since World War II, by Walter Sawatsky. Scottdale, PA: Herald, 1981. Pp. 527. $19.95.

As a result of his observations made on his crusade in the Soviet Union, a well-known American evangelist proclaimed that there was religious liberty there. As might be expected, there was worldwide reaction to this pronouncement. While those responses were mixed, to say the least, they had one thing in common—few had taken the time to see for themselves what was the actual state of religion in Russia. Reading this volume would greatly resolve the state of ignorance characteristic of many in the West.

As the author points out, most people see the condition of religion in the Soviet Union in one of two extremes. The one pictures the Bible-believing church to be in a state of warfare with the atheistic government. The other

extreme is the view that there is plenty of freedom and believers can co-exist with the state peacefully. The purpose of the book is to examine these perspectives to see which, if either, is most correct. This leads to what is perhaps the most valuable feature of the book: " . . . it is both a history and descriptive analysis" (p. 15) of the evangelical movement since the turn of the century, with special emphasis on the movement since World War II. Another valuable feature which results from a reading is that "the Soviet evangelical experience sets one thinking about the way a church reflects its theology" (p. 13). While a great many questions are resolved in the book, this reflection does cause one to stand in amazement at the complexities which confront the Christian in a world like this.

While this volume reflects the expertise of one who is well-versed in both the Soviet Union and the evangelical movement, it also is written from a distinct theological perspective:

> I have also introduced my own Anabaptist-Mennonite viewpoints rather specifically along the way. These viewpoints differ from 'established evangelicalism' in emphasis—noticeable in such areas as discipleship, concept of the church and nonviolence. I feel close kinship with the 'New Evangelicals,' one of whom in particular has helped me see the potential value of applying an Anabaptist theological grid to the Soviet evangelicals (p. 18).

These presuppositions have not seriously altered the quality of the book as regards its historical information. The *interpretation* of that history is, however, another matter entirely. To this I will return later.

Evangelicalism has been present in the Soviet Union since the 19th century. It grew and prospered and at first welcomed the Communists, expecting their long desired goal of religious freedom. At first this was realized, only to be taken away in the great national upheavals of the 1920s and 1930s. For all practical purposes the church ceased as an identifiable entity. It is ironic, however, to note that the rebirth of evangelicalism can be traced to World War II. With the energies of the state directed against the invading Germans, the church became somewhat important to the state. The great War of Liberation united all the Russian people, including the evangelicals. As a result of their valuable participation in the war, they were given new freedoms by the state. This led to the foundation of the AUCECB (All Union Council of Evangelical Christians-Baptists) which, to this day, remains the only officially recognized evangelical movement. That relationship continues only insofar as the church exists in symbiosis with the state. That contribution revolves around the willingness of the evangelicals to support the state, to project the view that there is religious freedom, and to support the peace movement fostered by the state.

Increasing state pressure on the church and especially its leadership led to a major split within the AUCECB and the formation of a new evangelical witness called the CCECB (Council of Churches of Evangelical Christians-Baptists) in 1965. The split continues over the major issue of the relationship of the church to the state. The CCECB has argued vehemently that the leadership of the AUCECB has compromised itself irreparably in its dealings with the state authorities. The author's evaluation of this split takes up much of the book.

It is not possible for me to interact with the book's presentation of historical materials since that would take a Russian specialist. On the other hand, the strength of the book is clearly its value as a source book for studying the history of the evangelical movement in the Soviet Union.

I would like, however, to deal with Sawatsky's *interpretation* of those historical materials. For the most part, he is critical of the CCECB for its failure to register a "Christian" response to the olive branch extended by the AUCECB leadership in the post-split era. In insisting upon total separation of church and state, Sawatsky thinks the CCECB cannot survive in that country. Furthermore, it has violated the many scriptural injunctions toward unity—indeed, this is the one " . . . mystery which the church must demonstrate to the powers . . . " (p. 234). This is a curious use of Scripture. He quotes Eph 3:10, which has nothing to do with unity, but rather emphasizes the importance of communicating Christ. We might ask: is there a limit to the price to be placed on unity? Is it at any cost? He also refers to Eph 2:14–22, which has nothing to do with the hard issues facing these two movements. In other words, unity is exhorted in Scripture but never at the price of truth. The issue, then, is not really unity but the identity of truth. It is interesting that although the author grieves over the split and, on occasion, scores the CCECB for its intractability, he does not register an equal concern for the great issues which fostered the split.

The spirit of the book is irenic. It is in this same spirit that these comments are intended. The issues, however, should dominate the analysis of the book. If unity is so important, we might ask why the CCECB alone is errant. It might well be postulated that if the entire evangelical movement had cooperated (i.e., followed the CCECB proposals), then the state might have agreed to allow true religious freedom. If a common front is the goal, why is it that the CCECB is the guilty party? Is there no excess in cooperating to the point of compromise?

The central thesis seems to be that the only thing that matters is that the present evangelical movement must not arouse the opposition of the state. It is more important to preach the gospel under some limitations than it is to demand to be free of all limitations. In response to this, it is somewhat curious that the author should refer disparagingly to "American pragmatism" (p. 403), while arguing for Christian pragmatism within the atheistic state. It seems to be wrong to smuggle Bibles into the country because one must lie to do it. It is not wrong, however, to allow the state to manipulate the church for propagandistic purposes, to limit its ministries (for example, evangelicals may not contribute to social programs in third world countries), or to control its own budget (pp. 426–27).

It is not my purpose to force the reader to choose, as it were, between good and evil. It is incredibly difficult to live in this complex world. Sawatsky has shown the difficulties which the Russian believer faces. His analysis, however, has led me to suspect that he is a better historian than theologian. Having said that, let me close by saying that this volume ought to be read by every born-again believer. How shall we stand before God in a state of ignorance when such precious information has been made available?

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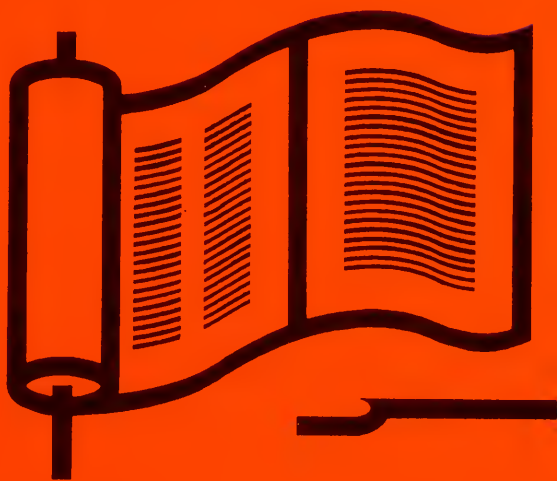Frizzell. New York: KTAV, 1981.

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THE CLASSIFICATION
OF PARTICIPLES:
A STATISTICAL STUDY

James L. Boyer

Understanding participles is a major requisite for the NT scholar. This study surveys the many ways participles are used in the Greek NT and the frequency of occurrence of each functional type. Attention is given to the structural patterns involved and the significance of these classifications. Eighteen categories are distinguished, nine of adjectival uses and nine of verbal uses. The special feature of this study is the statistical information provided, which points out the relative importance of the various types; more detailed discussion of the adverbial, the genitive absolute, the periphrastic, and the imperatival categories is provided.

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INTRODUCTION

T HIS article does not present a new and different approach to participles in the NT. It is, rather, an attempt to use a new avenue of study via computer analysis to supply information previously not easily available. This information concerns the relative frequencies of the various uses of participles in the NT, and some of the patterns these uses take. The first step in this process was to prepare an in-order list of all participles occurring in the Greek NT, together with a grammatical identification of each. Next, an in-context study was made in order to determine the usage classification of each. Finally, a class-by-class study of these occurrences was conducted in order to note any special features or peculiarities which might be helpful to the NT Greek student. The classification system used is for the most part the traditional one, though the purpose is not to defend this manner of treatment. In fact, in some cases a very different treatment is advocated.

The definition of a participle as a verbal adjective sets a pattern for the classification of its uses. As an adjective it stands in gender,

number and case agreement with a noun or other substantive (expressed or unexpressed), and in some way modifies, describes, or limits that substantive. As a verbal, while still attached by agreement to a substantive, it affects also the action or predication of the sentence.

ADJECTIVAL USES

Just as the position of the adjective in relation to the article gives the clue to its adjectival function (attributive or predicate), it is also important to understand whether the same is true of the participle. Thus the position of the adjectival participle in relation to its governing noun's article was made the basis for the classification. The first four categories show the article in "attributive position," that is, immediately following the article. The fifth category shows the participle in "predicate position," that is, *not* following the article. The last four categories are ambiguous since the governing noun (if there is one) does not have the article and this positional distinction is thus not present.

A P N (Article + Participle + Noun)

A glance at the statistical table will show that the placing of the participle before the noun (APN and PN) is relatively rare. Most frequently it occurs when the participle has no modifiers; sometimes the participle has become almost an adverb, such as "existing," "nearby," "coming," "present." Often the participle's own modifiers are very brief, consisting of an adverb, a short prepositional phrase, or a direct or indirect object; when the modifiers are more extended they often are separated from it and stand after the noun. In all the instances the participle seems to be purely attributive and usually can best be translated as a relative clause.

A N A P (Article + Noun + Article + Participle)

This so-called "second attributive position" is far more frequent with participles.[1] Characteristically it is used where the participial modifiers are extensive (although certainly not all instances are such; e.g., ὁ πατὴρ ὁ ζῶν which occurs frequently), or where more than one participle is so used coordinately. Like the preceding category the function is purely attributive, best translated as a relative clause.

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[1]Of the participles identifiable by position as attributive the ratio of first to second attributive position is 1:2.7. Among adjectives the ratio is 1:0.7

N A P (Noun + Article + Participle)

In sharp contrast with adjectives[2] this pattern is quite frequent with participles. By far the majority of instances occur when the noun is a proper name (68 times), which is then identified as "the one called (λεγόμενος, καλούμενος, ἐπιλεγόμενος, ἐπικαλούμενος)" by another proper name (23 times), or by a characteristic or customary action or condition when the participle is present tense (21 times) or perfect tense (4 times), or by a particular past action when the participle is aorist (20 times). This pattern occurs less frequently with common nouns (23 times), usually indefinite or general in nature, which the participle identifies more precisely by stating some specific act or condition.

It is noteworthy that one idiom belonging prominently to this category, the "proper name + ὁ λεγόμενος + proper name" also occurs with the first proper name showing an article, the A N A P category, and with both names anarthrous, the N P category. Many of the examples classified in this category also might well be listed with the A P category, as a substantival participle in apposition to the noun it follows. Such a situation will serve to warn against pressing these differing patterns as rigid categories. Rather, they serve merely as convenient methods of systematizing patterns. All these are simply attributive.

A P (Article + Participle)

By far the most frequently used[3] pattern of attributive participles is the article and the participle standing alone without a noun expressed, the "substantive use" of the participle. A person or thing is sufficiently identified as "the one who . . ." or "that which . . . ," where the generic term is identified by a participle which states its character, its condition, or its action. Again the participle functions purely as an attributive adjective. Usually, it is translated as a relative clause, but in many cases it is the full equivalent of a noun; ὁ πιστεύων is simply "the believer."

While it is beyond the scope of this article to deal with the significance of tense in participles, it is worthwhile to note that these substantival participles demonstrate rather dramatically a characteristic difference. Present participles identify by some characteristic or customary action or condition, and frequently are equivalent to a

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[2]In comparison with the 97 instances found in participles there are only 18 examples with adjectives. All but five of these are with nouns which are proper names, like βαβυλὼν ἡ μεγάλη.

[3]1467 examples; see the statistical chart.

name or title. So ὁ σπείρων is "a sower," ὁ κλέπτων is "a thief," ὁ δαιμονιζόμενος is "the demon-possessed person" (cf. Mk 5:15–16; it is used *after* the demon was cast out, a title which identified the man, not a description of his present state), ὁ βαπτίζων is "the baptizer" (or "the Baptist"), ὁ κρίνων is "the judge," ὁ ἀκούων is "a hearer," ὁπαραδιδούς is "the betrayer," the infamous title of Judas most frequently used, *before* (Matt 26:48), *during* (John 18:2), and *after* (Matt 27:3) the act itself. Some of these seem actually to have become nouns, listed as such in the lexicons; e.g., ὁ ἄρχων is "the ruler." The matter is different, however, with the substantival participle in the aorist and future tenses. Here the identification seems always to be specific, not general. An aorist participle identifies by referring to some specific act in past time; the future by a specific future act: so τὸ ῥηθέν "that which was spoken by the prophet Isaiah, etc." (very many times); τὰ γενόμενα, "the things which had happened"; ὁ κτίσας, "the One who created them male and female," not "the Creator"; ὁπαραδούς, "the one who betrayed him" (John 19:11; also Matt 10:4, apparently from the viewpoint of the author's time); ὁ παραδώσων, "the one who will betray him" (John 6:64).

A N P (Article + Noun + Participle)

This pattern is the only one which places the participle in a clearly "predicate position." This, along with its extreme rarity,[4] raises the question whether this distinction is valid for participles. Or, to put it differently, are we justified in looking for a different meaning in these few instances solely on the basis of the analogy of the adjective? Some examples seem similar to those adjectives which are found in predicate position but are found with a sentence which already has its predication, and hence become in effect a secondary or parenthetic predication.[5] So in Mark 6:2 αἱ δυνάμεις . . . γινόμεναι the sense is not merely an identification or description of the miracles, but rather an added admission that they really were happening. Often, however, it is difficult to see any distinction.

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[4]Only 20 were so catalogued in this study; 17 are certain (Matt 6:30 twice, Matt 27:37; Mark 6:2; Luke 11:21, 12:28 twice, 16:14; John 2:9, 8:9, 14:10; Acts 13:32; 1 Cor 8:12; 2 Cor 4:15; Eph 5:27; 1 Pet 3:20, 4:12) and 3 are so catalogued with some hesitation (John 4:39; Eph 2:4; Heb 3:2). There were other instances where a participle followed an articular noun, but they were adjudged to be verbal rather than adjectival, functioning as an adverb or as a supplement to the verb.

[5]For example, 2 Pet 1:19 βεβαιότερον; not "the more sure word" (which would require the attributive position), but rather "we have the prophetic word, which is more sure."

N P (Participle following Noun; no article with either)
P N (Participle preceding Noun; no article with either)

Like adjectives, when a participle stands in agreement with an anarthrous noun it is not possible to tell by position whether it is attributive or predicate. This does not mean that such functions are not present; it only means that they cannot be determined by position. No attempt is made in this study to ascertain the function of these participles. The statistical chart will show that the N P pattern is more common; the P N pattern is extremely rare.

P (Participle alone, functioning substantively)

Usually a participle standing alone is verbal (see below), but a considerable number of instances show that it can also be adjectival or substantival, even without the article. Most of these function as anarthrous nouns. Some stand in agreement with some other substantive word in the sentence, such as a pronoun, a numerical adjective, or with the subject implied in the person and number inflection of the verb. Anarthrous participles are placed in this category only if the sense of the sentence demands it—only if it is difficult to make sense by considering it a verbal usage.

P: Pred. Adj. (Participle alone, as a predicate adjective)

This is a normal and proper use for a participle, although it is not often singled out as a separate category. It is clearly the predicate use and as such does not use the article. The predicating verb is either εἰμί or γίνομαι, or is left unexpressed. It most often is in the nominative case, although when the predicative verb is an infinitive the participle agrees in case with the accusative subject. Also, verbs which take an accusative object and a predicate complement (καλέω, ποιέω) have the predicate complement in agreement with the object.

It sometimes is a problem to decide whether a participle belongs to this category, or to another to be discussed below, the periphrastic participle. There are obvious similarities; both agree in gender, number and case with the subject of the verb, the same verbs are involved (εἰμί, perhaps γίνομαι), and the sense is similar. Two considerations have been used to help decide. First, those places where the verbal sense seemed to be primarily in the participle, where the connecting verb was "semantically empty,"[6] were classified as periphrastic. Those in which the copulative verb seemed to be predicating to the subject

[6]A term taken from R. W. Funk, *A Beginning-Intermediate Grammar of Hellenistic Greek*, vol. 3 (Missoula: Scholar's Press, 1973) 430.

some quality, act or state expressed by the participle were classified as predicate adjectives. This factor also explains why the periphrastic construction is made a part of the "verbal" uses of the participle, for in such instances the participle does in fact express "the verb" of the clause. Second, where the participle appears in a list of predications along with predicate adjectives or predicate complements, its parallelism with the other predicates was taken to indicate its own predicate nature, even when it could well have been taken as periphrastic if it had stood alone.

VERBAL USES

This second general category is more frequent than the first,[7] and it is here that the versatility of the Greek participle is especially demonstrated. Here, too, the exegete faces the more puzzling alternatives. These participles never have the article; they stand in gender-number-case agreement with some noun or other substantive in the sentence, yet not as a "modifier" but as a connecting point for some element in some subordinating relation to the verb of the sentence. Whereas the adjectival participle is the equivalent of a relative clause, the verbal participle is the equivalent of an adverbial clause or is involved as an integral part of the principal "verb phrase."

Adverbial Participles

There are two main categories of verbal participles, the first and most frequent being the adverbial, which includes the first three categories in my tabulation. The first of these is a general one and properly should include those listed here in the second and third category. For convenience these subclasses are listed separately because of some special considerations.

Adverbial (General)

Adverbial participles "modify the verb," hence the term. They describe the circumstances,[8] or "set the stage," under which the action

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[7] 61.2% of the total.

[8] There is some confusion over the use of the term *circumstantial* by the grammarians. W. W. Goodwin, *Greek Grammar*, rev. by C. B. Gulick (Boston: Ginn, 1930) 329–33, and most of the classical grammars as well as some NT grammars, use the term for the entire category which I have called *Adverbial*, and indeed it makes a very appropriate name for it. E. D. Burton, *Syntax of Moods and Tenses in New Testament Greek* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1897) 169, 173, followed by Dana and Mantey, *A Manual Grammar of the Greek New Testament* (New York: Macmillan, 1927) 226, and many others, use this term to designate one sub-division of this group (the one called by Goodwin *Any attendant circumstance*) and the term *Adverbial* for the entire group. To avoid this confusion, I have chosen to used *Adverbial* as the general title.

of the verb takes place. These circumstances may be practically any which may be expressed by true adverbs, answering to such questions as when? where? in what way? by what means? why? under what circumstances? Grammarians have usually summed up these adverbial uses as time, cause, manner, means or instrument, purpose, condition, concession, and attendant circumstances.

The present study has made no attempt to sub-classify these adverbial participles under these headings, for several reasons. The size of the task (almost 3,500 instances), the subjectivity of the task (each one must be decided on the implications of the context alone, and frequently several choices seem equally plausible), and the limitations of publication (a mere listing would probably fill a whole issue of this *Journal*) have, at least for the present, made it impractical, in spite of the conviction that such a study would be very useful.

Only rarely is it possible to translate a Greek adverbial participle into an English participle. When it is not possible to do so, then the alternative becomes the use of a subordinate adverbial clause. To make this translation it is necessary (1) to decide what adverbial idea is being expressed (time, cause, manner, condition, etc.), (2) to choose the proper conjunction to express that idea (when, while, since, if, etc.), (3) to make the substantive with which the participle agrees the subject of the clause, and (4) to select the proper English tense to use. These are not always easy choices, and they demand a hermeneutical sensitivity as well as a rather sophisticated understanding of the Greek tense system.

Adverbial participles use the aorist tense slightly more frequently than the present (52% compared with 44%; this is the only category of participles where the present is not more frequent than the aorist). The case used is most commonly the nominative (85%), but the other cases (except vocative) are all used. The case, of course, is determined not by its adverbial character but by its agreement with its governing substantive, which may stand in any case relationship to the sentence.

Genitive Absolute

A genitive absolute is simply an adverbial participle, and all that has been said about adverbial participles in the preceding section is applicable here. Although usually temporal, they may express any of the adverbial ideas already described and their meaning must be approached in the same manner. A separate category has been made only because of a peculiar explanation for the choice of the case used. Normally the participle relates the adverbial quality it expresses to some noun or other substantive in the sentence. Its agreement with that noun determines its case. When, however, the adverbial quality is related to some substantive which is not a part of the main sentence,

and thus has no "case relation" to it (such a structure is called "absolute" in the grammars), the Greek idiom arbitrarily uses the genitive case for such a disconnected noun and the participle agreeing with it.[9] In the classical period it would be used only when this was the situation. But in later Greek, including the New Testament, this limitation was not always observed, and there are instances where a genitive absolute is used when the reference is to a word which is present in the sentence and has a case of its own. In most instances this occurs where the genitive absolute precedes the main clause, thus the word to which the participle refers would not yet be obvious to the hearer or reader.[10]

Not all adverbial participles in the genitive case are "absolute," however; they may simply be related to a word which has a proper genitive relationship to the sentence.[11]

Pleonastic Participles

This special class of adverbial participles occurs frequently in the Gospels, Acts, and Revelation and is commonly agreed to reflect Semitic influence. As the term is used in this paper, it applies only to the participles λέγων and ἀποκριθείς when they are used with verbs which in themselves also express in some way the concept of speech, such as "he taught saying," "he cried out saying," and "he answered saying." Λέγων occurs with a great variety of such words expressing speech, including ἀποκρίνομαι and even λέγω. Ἀποκριθείς occurs only with εἶπον. The two occur often together, even combined.[12]

Not all occurrences of λέγων are pleonastic, only those which actually repeat an expression of speech. To illustrate, in Luke 1:67 ἐπροφήτευσεν λέγων is classified as pleonastic because λέγων repeats the idea of speech involved in the verb προφητεύω. But in the preceding verse λέγοντες is classified simply as adverbial, because its use with ἔθεντο does not involve any redundancy.

Redundancy or pleonastic are terms which speak of style rather than grammar. When these participles are so classified, it simply means that they reflect a style of speaking which was probably quite native to the early Christians with Semitic background, whose first language was probably Hebrew. But such Greek style would probably have sounded strange to most Greek-speakers of that time, much the

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[9]Compare the ablative absolute in Latin, the nominative absolute in English.

[10]For a fuller discussion, with examples, cf. A. Buttman, *A Grammar of the New Testament Greek* (Andover: Warren F. Draper, 1891) 315–16.

[11]Examples found are 13: Matt 26:7; Luke 2:13 (twice); Acts 17:16, 19:34; 1 Cor 8:10; 2 Cor 7:15; 2 Thes 1:8; Heb 11:12; 1 Pet 1:7; 2 Pet 2:4; Rev 1:15, 17:8.

[12]Cf. Luke 14:3, ἀποκριθεὶς ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν . . . λέγων. . . . Such expression undoubtedly reflects Hebrew: ויאמר . . . ויען or some similar construction.

same as Elizabethan English occasionally sounds strange to present-day speakers of English. There is nothing in this idiom that is "ungrammatical," but it is unidiomatic and simply embodies a literalistic formal translation style from Hebrew to Greek. As it stands it is an adverbial participle, probably of manner.

Supplementary Participles

The second type of verbal participle is involved directly with the main verb and in effect with it forms a verb-chain. Robertson says, "the term supplementary or complementary is used to describe the participle that forms so close a connection with the principle verb that the idea of the speaker is incomplete without it. . . . It fills out the verbal notion."[13] Turner compares it with the adverbial or circumstantial use: "The circumstantial ptc. differs from a supplementary ptc. in that the latter cannot without impairing the sense be detached from the main verbal idea, whereas the circumstantial is equivalent to a separate participial clause."[14] They occur in conjunction with specific verbs and types of verbs; frequently they are the same verbal ideas as use the participle in English, although certainly not always. For convenience I shall use the categories listed by Robertson.[15]

Periphrastic Participle

Construction of tenses and moods by using a participle with an "auxiliary" verb, thus producing a periphrastic or "round-about" expression, was always a part of the Greek verb system, but by classical standards it became much more common in Hellenistic Greek. The tendency seems to be a natural one, occurring in other languages as well (compare English). In fact, to an English-speaking student of NT Greek, ἦν διδάσκων seems much more natural for "he was teaching" than the inflected form, ἐδίδασκεν. Mark and Luke use this periphrastic construction much more commonly than the other NT writers.[16] It may be another reflection of Hebrew grammar formally translated into Greek since היה plus the participle is common in second temple Hebrew.

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[13]A. T. Robertson, *A Grammar of the Greek New Testament in the Light of Historical Research* (Nashville: Broadman, 1934) 1119.

[14]Nigel Turner, *A Grammar of New Testament Greek*, vol. 3: *Syntax* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1963) 153.

[15]Robertson, *Grammar*, 1119–24.

[16]The rate per 1000 words of text is: Luke, 3.49; Acts, 3.14; Mark, 2.48; John, 2.04; Matt, 1.31, Heb, 1.21; Paul, 1.19; General epistles, 1.05; Rev, 1.01.

The auxiliary verb is almost always the present or imperfect of
εἰμί. Some grammarians tentatively list γίνομαι and ὑπάρχω as also
involved, but to the present writer a participle occurring with these
verbs seems more probably to be understood as supplementary (see
below).

Participles used in this construction are the present (153 times)
and perfect (115 times), perhaps also the aorist (two very doubtful
instances).[17] The case used is almost always the nominative, since the
participle is in a sense a subjective complement of the copulative verb,
requiring that the case be the same as that of the subject. The two
instances where the periphrastic participle is accusative[18] are actually
following that rule; in one case the auxiliary is an infinitive, which
has its "subject" in the accusative; in the other the auxiliary is itself a
participle which modifies (and therefore has as its "subject") an ac-
cusative pronoun.

Usually the participle follows the auxiliary; it precedes in only 28
instances. In a few cases a participle has been identified as periphrastic
when an auxiliary is not present but seems to be implied by the sense
of the context or by parallels where the same construction has the
auxiliary.[19]

There is necessarily some ambivalence between the periphrastic
participle and a participle functioning as a predicative adjective, al-
ready discussed above. Indeed, N. Turner says, "In the same way as
the ordinary adj. the ptc. may fulfill the role of a predicate and
answers either to the subject or the direct complement of the preposi-
tion. In this way, with εἶναι and γίνεσθαι the ptc. forms a peri-
phrastic tense."[20] It is hard to see how ἦν ἀσθενῶν (John 11:1) would
be different if it were ἦν ἀσθενής; or ἵνα ἡ χαρὰ ἡμῶν ᾖ πεπληρω-
μένη (1 Jn 1:4) if it were ᾖ πλήρης. Especially is this true when the
participle occurs in a list of parallel predications alongside an adjective
or other descriptive phrase.[21]

In meaning, the periphrastic tenses seem in many instances to be
no different from their inflected counterparts. Perhaps the most that
can be said is that, while the simple present tense, for example, is

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[17]Luke 23:19, βληθείς; 2 Cor 5:19, θέμενος. The strangeness of the first of these is
underscored by the textual variants which occur; one changing the form to perfect,
βεβλημένος, the other omitting the participle altogether. The other example is com-
plicated by differing interpretations of the first two participles (are they periphrastic or
circumstantial?) and the parallelism in sense between this clause and the final clause of
the preceding verse.

[18]Luke 9:18, Col 1:21.

[19]Cf. ἐξὸν ἦν (Matt 12:4) with ἐξόν (Acts 2:29); also with other similar words,
such as δέον, παρόν, πρέπον, συμφέρον.

[20]Turner, Grammar, 158.

[21]Cf. Luke 1:7, Rom 15:4, Eph 2:12, Rev 1:18, etc.

capable of a variety of meanings, the periphrastic seems always to require or to emphasize the continuing action sense.

"Imperatival" Participles

Some grammarians distinguish another use of the participle in which it seems to stand as the main verb of the sentence in a context which requires that it be understood as imperative; others strongly disagree.[22] The instances cited may easily be explained as depending on some other verb present, or by understanding an ellipsis of an imperative copula. The present writer would in every case adopt the latter alternative, leaving no examples to present as imperatival participles. However, in recognition of this situation, I have chosen to list some of the most likely examples in this special category for comparison and study.

The most notable examples are found in the list of admonitions in Romans 12:9–19. Beginning three verses earlier (v 6), this series proceeds without a governing verb expressed. The first eight admonitions seem to require a verb to be supplied with the sense, "Let us do it . . ." ("If it is a prophecy which has been given to us, [let us prophesy] according to . . ."), a simple ellipsis of a verb easily supplied from the context. The pattern changes in v 9a, where the verb to be supplied is the imperative of the copulative verb, ἔστω. In vv 9b–13 the series continues with fourteen more exhortations, twelve of which have a participle and two have an adjective expressing the content of the exhortation. It would seem most logical that these also be considered elliptical, either as periphrastic imperative verbs or as predicate adjectives, in either case with the imperative copulative verb[23] to be supplied. The series ends (vv 19b–21) with seventeen more admonitions, seven of which are again participles, interspersed with nine regular imperative verbs and one infinitive which probably should be supplied with a governing verb such as παρακαλῶ (cf. v 1). This cluster of participles seem most naturally to be understood as depending on an imperative supplied from the context, rather than an example of a distinct class of participles.

This situation is similar in the other examples listed. In 2 Cor 8:23, 24 a long sentence is without a single finite verb; v 23 requires

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[22]Supporting this "main verb" use of the participle is J. H. Moulton, *A Grammar of New Testament Greek*, vol. 1: *Prolegomena* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1908) 180–84. Opposing it is Buttman, *Grammar*, 290–94. Robertson, *Grammar*, 1132–35, takes a mediating position; he shows that these uses can be understood as anacoluthon or ellipsis, but awkwardly. In practice he recognizes them.

[23]The plural nominative participle and the pattern of speech in vv 14, 16, 19–21 point to the second person plural imperative ἔστε (or perhaps γίνεσθε). ἔστε (imperative) is never found in the NT.

supplying a main verb (one which is not very obvious) and the copula-
tive verb twice; v 24 seems most naturally to require the imperative
ἔστωσαν with the participle ἐνδεικνύμενοι. In 1 Pet 2:18, 3:1, 7 three
participles seem to be in parallel structure, all depending on a main
verb in 2:13, the imperative ὑποτάγητε. This subject of submission
continues throughout the section and includes three specific groups;
each is introduced by a participle agreeing in number and case with
the subject of that governing verb. Thus they are not standing apart
as separate finite verbs (i.e., imperatival participles), but are simply
amplifications applying the main verb to three groups. English idiom
finds it much easier to make three distinct sentences.

Complementary Participle

Robertson uses this narrower designation to include a variety of
verbs which sometimes take a supplementary participle,[24] but he does
so without assigning a descriptive name to the type of verb involved.
Blass-Debrunner labels them "verbs denoting a modified sense of 'to
be' or 'to do'."[25] They are verbs which in classical Greek used the
supplementary participle mostly in the nominative case, but this use is
greatly diminished in NT Greek. Here this group includes such verbs
as (a) ὑπάρχω (twice) = to be, exist; προϋπάρχω (3 times) = to be
first; to be continually; διατελέω (once), ἐπιμένω (twice) and μένω
(once); (b) to stop, to cease, to finish, to grow weary; παύομαι (12
times), διαλείπω (once), τελέω (once), ἐγκακέω (twice): (c) to be
hidden, to be manifest = λανθάνω (once), φαίνω (twice); (d) to come
before, anticipate = προφθάνω (once); (e) a modified sense of "to
do" = καλῶς ποιέω (4 times), τί ποίειτε (twice).

Verbs of Emotion

Extremely rare in the NT, this study has listed only two examples,
one each with ἀγαλλιάζω (Acts 16:34) and τρέμω (2 Pet 2:10). Three
instances with χαίρω are sometimes cited as examples, but they seem
more probably to be adverbial (for example, John 20:20, "they re-
joiced when they saw the Lord" rather than "rejoiced at seeing" or
"rejoiced to see" or "saw him gladly").

Verbs of Perception and Cognition

This most frequently occurring type of supplemental participle is
sub-divided into (a) verbs of physical perception (seeing, hearing) and

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[24]Robertson, *Grammar*, 1120–21.

[25]F. Blass and A. DeBrunner, *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other
Early Christian Literature*, trans. and rev. by Robert Funk (Chicago: University of
Chicago, 1961) 213.

(b) verbs of mental perception or cognition (knowing, recognizing, finding, confessing, etc.). The verbs showing this construction in the NT, with the number of occurrences, are: βλέπω (15), εἶδον (89), θεάομαι (5), θεωρέω (22), ὁράω (and ὀπ-) (12), ἀκούω (34), παρακούω (1), εὑρίσκω (51), δείκνυμι (2), δοκιμάζω (1), ἡγέομαι (1), and ἔχω when it means "to consider" (2).

Since the participle in this construction goes with the object of the main verb, it is usually in the accusative case. The genitives here are all with the verb ἀκούω, which takes the genitive when it speaks of physical perception. The few instances where this participle is in the nominative case are due to the passive voice of the governing verb, where the object of the action has become the subject in the nominative and the participle agrees.[26]

Participle in Indirect Discourse

Closely related to the last group, but worthy of separate consideration, is the use of the participle in indirect discourse. It is rare in the NT, being replaced largely by the infinitive and the ὅτι clause. The participle is so used with ἀκούω (6 times), εἶδον (once), and ὁράω (once) from those listed in the last category, plus other verbs of mental perception, γινώσκω (3), ἐπιγινώσκω (1), ἐπίσταμαι (1), κατανοέω (1), and ὁμολογέω (2). The contrast in meaning between ἀκούω used with a supplementary participle and ἀκούω with a participle in indirect discourse will serve to illustrate the distinction. ἤκουσαν . . . αὐτοῦ λαλοῦντος (John 1:37 and frequently) clearly refers only to the physical perception; it says nothing about the content of what was heard. But ἀκούσας . . . ὄντα σιτία εἰς Αἴγυπτον (Acts 7:12) is not physical perception, he did not hear the grain being there. Rather, he heard "that there was grain. . . ." The latter is clearly indirect discourse; the direct would be "There is grain. . . ."

The participle modifies the object of the verb of perception and as such is in the accusative case.

Appended to this discussion are three statistical tables. Tables 1 and 2 give the total number of occurrences for each of the eighteen patterns or functions described, as well as a breakdown count by tense and case for each. This information may be useful to the NT Greek student in pursuing these studies further, for purposes of comparison and evaluation of their magnitude and relative importance. Table 3 gives additional statistical information relating to one category, the periphrastic participle.

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[26]Matt 1:18, 17:30; Phil 3:9; Rev 20:15. The other is Rev 5:12, where the ellipsis makes it difficult to account for the case.

The fact that about one word in every twenty in the Greek NT is a participle, together with the oft-heard comment from students that participles are one of the most difficult parts of the language to master, underscores the importance and need for any help available. If this study meets any part of that need its purpose will be realized.

TABLE 1

Adjectival Uses of Participles

	Total	Present	Future	Aorist	Perfect	Nom.	Gen.	Dat.	Acc.	Voc.
Attributive:										
APN	101	58		23	20	25	27	17	32	
ANAP	276	155	1	76	44	101	64	38	73	1
NAP	97	59		32	6	48	21	7	20	15
AP	1467	1050	5	272	140	816	160	206	270	
Non-determinative:										
NP	353	231		31	91	144	43	33	129	4
PN	23	15		2	6	6	7	4	6	
P	128	97	1	8	22	50	26	14	37	1
Predicate:										
ANP	20	14		3	3	6	2	2	10	
P. Pred. Adj.	135	89		5	41	116			19	
Total	2600	1768	7	452	373	1312	350	321	596	21

TABLE 2

Verbal Uses of Participles

	Total	Present	Future	Aorist	Perfect	Nom.	Gen.	Dat.	Acc.	Voc.
Adverbial:										
General	2881	1171		1593	112	2719	13	29	120	
Gen. Abs.	343	193		138	12		343			
Pleonastic	280	177		103		264	13		3	
Sub-Total	3504	1541	5	1834	124	2983	369	29	123	
Periphrastic:										
General	271	155			114	269				
"Imperatival"	21	21		2		21			2	
Sub-Total	292	176		2	114	290			2	
Supplementary:										
Verbs "to be, to do"	38	31		4	3	38				
Verbs of Emotion	3	1		1	1	3				
Verbs of Perception	240	183		5	52	5	25		210	
Indirect Discourse	15	9		2	4				15	
Sub-Total	296	224		12	60	46	25		225	
Total	4092	1941	5	1848	298	3319	394	29	350	

TABLE 3

Composition of Periphrastic Tenses

Auxiliary Verb	with Present Participle		with Perfect Participle		with Aorist Participle	
Present Indicative:						
εἰμί	1		2			
ἐστί(ν)	12		18			
[ἐστί(ν)]*	3					
ἐσμέν			3			
[ἐσμέν]	1					
ἐστέ			6			
εἰσί(ν)	1		7			
[εἰσί(ν)]	1		1			
	19	Periphrastic Present Ind.	37	Periphrastic Perfect Ind.		
Present Subjunctive:						
ἦ			7			
[ἦ]	1					
ὦμεν			1			
ἦτε			2			
ὦσι(ν)			2			
	1	Periphrastic Present Subj.	12	Periphrastic Perfect Subj.		
Present Infinitive:						
εἶναι	1	Periphrastic Present Inf.				
Present Participle:						
ὤν			2	Periphrastic Perfect Part.		
Imperfect Indicative:						
ἤμην	8		1			
ἦν	67		36		2 (?)	
[ἦν]	2		1			
ἦμεν	1		1			
ἤμεθα			1			
[ἦμεν]	3					
ἦτε	1					
ἦσαν	34		15			
[ἦσαν]	2		1			
	118	Periphrastic Imperfects	56	Periphrastic Pluperfects	2	Periphrastic Aorists
Future Indicative:						
ἔσομαι			1			
ἔσῃ	3					
ἔσται	2		4			
ἔσεσθε	5					
ἔσονται	3		1			
	13	Periphrastic Futures	6	Periphrastic Future Perfects		

*Bracketed forms indicate probable examples of ellipsis, the bracketed word to be supplied to complete the sense.

AQUINAS, LUTHER, MELANCHTHON, AND BIBLICAL APOLOGETICS

Jonathan Selden

Viewed historically and theologically, the apologetical views of Thomas Aquinas, Martin Luther, and Philip Melanchthon may be understood in terms of a dialectical schema, that is, in relationship to one another these three views fall into the pattern of thesis-antithesis-synthesis. If the relationalist apologetic of Aquinas is viewed as a thesis position, then the reformed apologetic of Luther stands in antithesis to Aquinas and scholastic rationalism. Although Melanchthon upheld Luther's biblical apologetic during his early career, he diverged from this reformed position in later life. His apologetic, then, may be described as a synthesis of Aquinas' rationalist view and Luther's scriptural view. Although the Protestant tradition eventually strayed toward a more scholastic view of apologetics, with Martin Luther we have a clear example of a thoroughly reformed and thoroughly biblical apologetic.

*   *   *

T HROUGHOUT the history of the church great effort has been undertaken to provide an adequate defense of the Christian religion. In Athens at the Areopagus, the apostle Paul gave a defense of his faith against the Stoics and Epicureans, reasoning with them that, although they were religious, their religion was false. Beginning with "the God who made the world and everything in it," Paul asserted that man, "God's offspring . . . should not think that the divine being is like gold or silver or stone—an image made by man's design and skill" (Acts 17:17, 24, 29; NIV). Paul's defense began with an unproven assumption of God as Creator, not with human speculation about divinity. It was to counter Greek speculation about divinity that Paul built his defense of the Christian faith.

The challenge of Greek speculation did not end with Paul's encounter at the academy in Athens. Throughout the first several centuries of church history, various speculative heresies such as Arianism and Gnosticism threatened to stifle the Christian religion. The early church, however, responded as Paul did, basing its defense,

often embodied in a creed, upon the revelation of God. Such creeds as those of Nicea and Chalcedon affirmed the revealed truth of the deity of Christ and the tri-unity of the God-head.

As the Church developed as an institution, and as it granted more and more authority to its bishops, especially the bishop at Rome, it subsequently moved from its creedal foundation and espousal of scriptural supremacy. This development continued until the authority of scriptural revelation was matched by the authority of church councils and tradition. The prominent challenge against which Paul and the ancient church had successfully defended their faith—human speculation and non-revealed authority—progressively became a dominant aspect of the Medieval Church.

In the course of Medieval Christianity the antagonist assumed the role of the protagonist. Although it was once regarded by Paul as Christianity's enemy, Greek rationalism was adopted as a means for the defense of the faith.

This development was to reach its apex in the revered, if not "canonized," work of Thomas Aquinas. Though the Church had not always been aware of the growing role of reason, Thomas Aquinas consciously employed human reason, and thus human authority, in his defense of the Christian religion. His extensive use of Aristotle's non-Christian philosophy attests to this. It is understandable that Aquinas adopted the use of free and autonomous human reason, since in his semi-Pelagian view of God and man he had already adopted the concept of a free and autonomous human will. But with Martin Luther's reformation Aquinas' medieval apologetic and semi-Pelagianism met a biblical response.

Because he recognized the supremacy of divine authority over all areas of life and its direct relationship to the defense of the Christian religion, the great reformer Martin Luther completely rejected Aquinas' apologetic along with medieval semi-Pelagianism. Luther's apologetic necessarily differed from that of Aquinas because of his view of scriptural authority. In apologetics as in soteriology Luther began with a free and sovereign God, not with human merit and reason. Based on his acceptance of divine revelation as the sole and supreme standard for man in all areas of life, including apologetics, Luther's defense of the faith in both method and content was antithetical to the rationalist apologetic of Thomas Aquinas.

Philip Melanchthon, Luther's comrade in the German reform movement, also differed from Aquinas and medieval Christianity. However, he returned somewhat to a synergistic concept of salvation. His synergism, his concept of human freedom, and his view of revelation as a limited authority for man allowed Melanchthon to stray to a more scholastic, less consistently reformed apologetic. Although he

was a leader of the reformation, in some respects Philip Melanchthon synthesized the scholastic apologetic of Thomas Aquinas and the biblical apologetic of Martin Luther.

Apologetics by nature is a broad, interdisciplinary activity. No apology of any sort, be it philosophical or theological, is free from the epistemology which is its basis for acquiring truth. To defend truth it is necessary first to acquire truth. In many respects, apologetics and epistemology cannot be distinguished. Thus, in apologetics one's concept of authority is central, and in Christian apologetics then, the questions of epistemology, authority, and scripture must be considered.

I. THE THESIS: MEDIEVAL APOLOGETICS

"Scholasticism is the term given to the theology of the Middle Ages."[1] No single figure embodied medieval scholasticism better than Thomas Aquinas. His *Summa Theologica* and *Summa Contra Gentiles* stand as the most significant examples of medieval scholasticism. "With Scholasticism we come to a well worked out and a detailed epistemology. . . ."[2] The scholastic epistemology of Aquinas, however, was not identical with the scriptural epistemology of the Apostle Paul. Aquinas' scholastic epistemology in effect began with human reason.

> The first thing to note about the approach of Thomas is that he begins his identification of God . . . by means of the natural reason. In other words at the outset of his theology and controlling everything that he says he not only assumes but assures us that reason can prove the existence of God.[3]

In the *Summa Theologica* Aquinas contended,

> The Apostle Paul says: "The invisible things of Him are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made" (Rom 1:20). but this would not be unless the existence of God could be demonstrated through the things that are made; for the first thing, we must know of anything is, whether it exists. The existence of God can be proved in five ways.[4]

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[1]Philip Schaff, *History of the Christian Church*, vol. 5 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1907) 587.

[2]Cornelius Van Til, *A Survey of Christian Epistemology*. (Phillipsburg, NJ: Presbyterian and Reformed, 1977) 56.

[3]Cornelius Van Til, *A Christian Theory of Knowledge*. (Nutley, NJ: Presbyterian and Reformed, 1969) 169.

[4]Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica* in *The Basic Writings of Thomas Aquinas*, vol. 1, ed. Anton C. Pegis (New York: Random House, 1945) 22.

This contention illustrates medieval scholasticism's attempt to uphold dogma through dialectical argumentation, independent of scripture.[5]

In order to prove the existence of God, Aquinas made human reason his epistemological starting point. "Scripture," asserted Aquinas, "is not part of the philosophical disciplines discovered by human reasons."[6] Although scripture is necessary for salvation since "certain truths which exceed human reason should be made known to [man] by divine revelation"[7] that man might obtain salvation, it is not essential for epistemology. Scripture could be called ultimate as it relates to salvation, but not basic as it relates to epistemology. "We must bear in mind," wrote Aquinas, "that there are two kinds of sciences. There are some which proceed from principles known by the natural light of the intellect, such as arithmetic and geometry and the like. There are also some which proceed from principles known by the light" of revelation.[8] For Aquinas, philosophy deals with those truths which can be proved by the "natural light" of reason, while theology is concerned with the unprovable realm of faith. Natural theology, according to Aquinas, is a combination of theology and philosophy, an overlapping of these two sciences which can be experienced and proven.[9] Aquinas made his proofs for God's existence, i.e., his concept of natural theology, the central aspect of his system.

"Scholasticism has traditionally been associated with the revival of philosophy which followed the rediscovery of Aristotle, whose work was mediated to the Middle Ages through Arab and Jewish philosophy."[10] Aristotle's logic had been employed by other religions, e.g., Islam, in an apologetic manner. Likewise then, Christian scholars of medieval Europe employed Aristotle's "natural reason" as a basis for their defense of the Christian religion. At the height of the church-dominated Middle Ages Aquinas incorporated an alien apologetical method into his defense of the Christian faith.

Aquinas provides perhaps the most significant demonstration of Aristotelian apologetics in his "proofs" for the existence of God. Aquinas' five ways—his five demonstrations of the existence of a supreme being—epitomize his apologetical priority of reason before revelation. In each of his "proofs," Aquinas drew a rationalistic argument from Aristotle's philosophy. Each of his arguments began with an observable phenomenon such as the existing world and upon that

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[5]Schaff, *History*, 5. 588.

[6]Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, 5.

[7]Ibid., 6.

[8]Ibid., 7.

[9]W. T. Jones, *A History of Western Philosophy*, (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1952) 2. 213. See also *Summa Theologica*, 5–10.

[10]Per Erik Persson, *Sacra Doctrina: Reason and Revelation in Aquinas* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1957) 3.

premise asserted the logical deduction of an uncaused cause or an unmoved mover, God.

> In the world of sensible things we find there is an order of efficient causes. There is no case known in which a thing is found to be the efficient cause of itself, for it would be prior to itself, which is impossible. Now in efficient causes it is not possible to go on to infinity. . . . Therefore it is necessary to admit a first cause, to which everyone gives the name God."[11]

This type of argument "assumes the truth of a particular theory of knowledge. With certain adjustments of detail [Aquinas] takes over the Aristotelian position that all knowledge arises out of sensation."[12] He stressed,

> the power of knowing cannot fail in the knowledge of the thing with the likeness of which it is informed. . . . The sight is not deceived in its proper sensible. . . . Sense falsity does not exist as known, as was stated above.[13]

It is ironic but no less true that the master scholastic Aquinas "tried to defend the truth of the church doctrines by employing the Aristotelian method of reasoning."[14]

The irony in Aquinas' apologetic grew out of his semi-Pelagian view of God and man. Aquinas could begin his system with reason and logic since he believed that the destructive effects of sin are not found in man's intellect but in his will.[15] Like Aristotle, Aquinas believed in a virtually unimpaired intellect, so it was possible for him to assert that man, in his epistemological and apologetical endeavors, could begin with sense perception and human reason. "Man," wrote Aquinas, "has free choice, or otherwise the councils, exhortations, commands, prohibitions, rewards and punishments would be in vain."[16] Since Aquinas viewed man as unaffected intellectually by the fall, he could formulate a "two-step process in presenting the case for Christianity." In the first step he employed Aristotlian philosophical argumentation as the foundation of his system, and then he completed his work by appealing to revealed Christian teaching.[17] Throughout his system Aquinas drew "a clear line of distinction between knowledge

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[11]Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, 22.

[12]Gordon Clark, *Thales to Dewey* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1957) 278.

[13]Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, 184.

[14]Van Til, *Christian Epistemology*, 57.

[15]Persson, *Sacra Doctrina*, 232.

[16]Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, 787.

[17]Colin Brown, *Philosophy and the Christian Faith* (Downers Grove: InterVarsity, 1969) 33.

and faith."[18] This implies that in the Thomistic system authority lies basically with man according to his natural knowledge, not in scripture accepted by man through faith.

At the outset of the *Summa Theologica*, Aquinas argued for the necessity of scripture.[19] However, the importance for which he contended was only soteriological, not apologetical. Aquinas learned of salvation through faith and revelation but defended his faith externally and independently through the rationalism of Greek philosophy. Here, the Apostle Paul's antagonist—Greek rationalism—became the protagonist of medieval scholasticism. In the view of one contemporary critic of scholasticism,

> where a theology is based partly upon the Christian revelation and partly upon philosophical ideas, the result is often a misguided hotchpotch. At best the end product is a mixture containing ideas which cancel each other out. At worst the alien philosophy has been so allowed to crowd out and transform that the result is scarcely recognizable as Christianity at all.[20]

That medieval Christianity turned to Aristotle for its method of philosophical defense indicates its failure to perceive the discrepancy between theistic and anti-theistic apologies.[21] Understanding this discrepancy only became possible with the reformation of the medieval church.

II. THE ANTITHESIS: REFORMED APOLOGETICS

The Protestant Reformation, with its resounding challenges of *sola scriptura, sola gratia*, and *sola fide*[22] did not address only soteriological questions. The Thomistic natural apologetic met a formidable challenge in Reformation theology, which was based not on human reason but on divine authority revealed in scripture.[23] No reformer stressed the supremacy of scriptural authority in all matters more insistently than Luther. Where Aquinas was the champion of medieval rationalism, Luther was the champion of the reformation principle of scriptural supremacy. Luther led the reformers who, "throwing off the yoke of human authority, and disparaging the Schoolman, returned to the fountain of Scripture, and restated its truths."[24]

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[18] Persson, *Sacra Doctrina*, 228.

[19] Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, 5–6.

[20] Brown, *Philosophy*, 35.

[21] Van Til, *Christian Epistemology*, 57.

[22] James E. McGoldrick, "Three Principles of Protestantism," *The Banner of Truth* (Issue 232, January, 1983) 7–18.

[23] Brown, *Philosophy*, 33–34.

[24] Schaff, *History*, 5. 592.

With Luther, epistemology, authority, and scripture were much more interrelated than they were with Aquinas. This was so because Luther took his epistemology entirely from scriptural revelation. Therefore, although a study of Aquinas can begin with a consideration of his epistemology, since it was independent of scripture, no study of Luther can begin apart from his first principle, the self-revealed God of the Bible. While Aquinas based his system on rationalism and revelation, Luther based his theology and apologetic solely on revelation. As part of his call to reform Luther decried rationalism.

> In this whole matter the first and most important thing is that we take earnest heed not to enter on it [reform] trusting in great might or in human reason, even though all power in the world were ours; for God cannot and will not suffer a good work to be begun with trust in our own power or reason.[25]

Despite this apparently categorical statement, caution is always in order when considering Luther's statements about reason. "Unless [the] Scholastic exaltation of reason is kept in mind when reading Luther, it is easy to misread his fulminations against reason. . . ."[26] Luther never denounced reason in general, since it is a gift from God; rather, he denounced improper usages of reason such as those made by Aquinas. Luther's epistemology, then, was the antithesis of scholasticism. "It was Luther's firm conviction that any attempt to defend the articles of the Christian faith by rational argumentation was the greatest folly."[27]

> Let others decide for themselves what they have learned from scholastic theology. As far as I am concerned I know and confess that I have learned nothing from it but ignorance of sin, righteousness, Baptism, and the whole Christian life. I not only learned nothing (which could be tolerated), but what I did learn I only had to unlearn again.[28]

Luther was well aware of Aristotle's philosophy and how it had become prominent in the church during the three centuries preceding him.[29] Nevertheless, he made no concessions to Aristotle or to Aquinas' use of Aristotle. Concerning Aristotle Luther wrote, "the Holy Scriptures and the Christian faith are little taught, and the blind,

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[25]"An Open Letter to the Christian Nobility, 1520." In *Works of Martin Luther* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1915) 2. 63–64.

[26]Siegbert W. Becker, *The Foolishness of God* (Milwaukee: Northwestern, 1982) 8.

[27]Ibid., 172.

[28]Quoted in Robert O. Preus, *The Theology of Post-Reformation Lutheranism* (St. Louis: Concordia, 1970) 235–36.

[29]"The Babylonian Captivity of the Church, 1520." In *Works of Martin Luther* 2. 190.

heathen master Aristotle rules alone, even more than Christ. In this regard my advice would be that Aristotle's [writings] . . . should be altogether discarded. . . ."[30] Likewise, Luther assessed the scholastics' use of Aristotle: "they mix the dreams of Aristotle with theological matters, and conduct non-sensical disputations about the majesty of God, beyond and against the privilege granted them."[31] From Luther's perspective, Aristotle was a heathen[32] standing in contradiction to scripture and therefore of no use to the Christian religion. Aristotle's writings drew men only further from the Bible.[33] With the logic of Aristotle, Aquinas paved his own road to God with speculation. Luther abhorred this effort. "Nothing is more dangerous than to build one's own road to God and to climb up by our own speculation."[34] Aquinas, believing that man's intellect had survived the fall essentially unaffected and that man's will was free and thus able to choose good (i.e., truth), began his apologetic with human reason. Luther, however, contended that man cannot base his religion on human reason because man is fallen, his will bound to sin, and his intellect depraved. It is

> something fundamentally necessary and salutary for a Christian, to know that God foreknows nothing contingently, but that he foresees and purposes and does all things by his immutable, eternal, and infallible will. Here is a thunderbolt by which free choice is completely prostrated and shattered, so that those who want free choice asserted must either deny or explain away this thunderbolt, or get rid of it by some other means.[35]

Furthermore, through the fall, man retained only

> a depraved intellect and will inimical and opposed to God which is able to think nothing except what is contrary to God. Whatever is in our intellect is error.[36]

Because man is bound to sin and error he needs a divine, transcendent reference point, a standard by which he may live righteously, know truth, and correctly defend that truth. Apart from this external

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[30]"An Open Letter to the Christian Nobility, 1520." In *Works of Martin Luther*, 2. 146.

[31]"Disputation on Indulgences, 1517." In *Works of Martin Luther*, 1. 46.

[32]"A Sermon on Keeping Children in School, 1530." In *Works of Martin Luther*, 4. 173.

[33]"To the Councilmen of All Cities in Germany, 1524." In *Works of Martin Luther*, 4. 127.

[34]Becker, *Foolishness of God*, 15.

[35]"The Bondage of the Will, 1526." *Luther's Works*, ed. Philip S. Watson (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1972) 33. 37.

[36]Quoted in Becker, *Foolishness of God*, 23.

standard, man in his depraved state has no basis for knowledge. Unlike Aquinas, who implicitly demonstrated that man in his ability to defend Christianity rationally was at least to some degree his own authority, Luther claimed divine revelation as his sole authority. Knowledge of the triune God

> never would have been heard nor preached, would never in all eternity have been published, learned and believed, had not God himself revealed it.[37]

> The teaching of human experience and reason are far below the divine law. The Scripture expressly forbids us to follow our own reason, Deuteronomy xii, 'Ye shall not do . . . every man whatever is right in his own eyes,' for human reason ever strives against the law of God, as Genesis vi. says: 'Every thought and imagination of man's heart is only evil continually.' Therefore the attempt to establish or defend divine order with human reason, unless that reason has previously been established and enlightened by faith, is just as futile as if I were to throw light upon the sun with a lightless lantern, or rest a rock upon a reed.[38]

Luther's apologetic rested on the revealed truth that the Christian faith could be

> proved [only] by the Scriptures, and not by temporal analogies and worldly reason. For it is written that the divine commandments are justified in and by themselves and not by external help.[39]

In contrast to Aquinas, Luther contended:

> It is most deplorable that we should attempt with our reason to defend God's word, whereas the word of God is rather our defense against all our enemies, as St. Paul teaches us. Would he not be a great fool who in the thick of battle sought to protect his helmet and sword with bare hand and unshielded head? It is no different when we assay with our reason, to defend God's law, which should rather be our weapon.[40]

Moreover, concerning scholastic apologetics, Luther stated:

> From this, I hope, it is clear that the flimsy argument of this prattler fails utterly, and, together with everything he constructs upon it is found to be without any basis whatever.[41]

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[37]"Epistle Sermon, Twelfth Sunday after Trinity." In *A Compend of Luther's Theology*, ed. Hugh T. Kerr (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1966) 3.

[38]"The Papacy at Rome, 1520." In *Works of Martin Luther*, 1. 346.

[39]Ibid., 347.

[40]Ibid., 347.

[41]Ibid., 347.

Luther could accept no method of acquiring truth or defending truth which was not completely submissive to revelation.

> He wrote that the principles of the Lutheran Reformation can be defended by clear Scripture, and he went on to say that whatever cannot be so defended has no place in the Christian religion. It is the very nature of the Christian faith that it seeks no foundation on which to rest except the bare word of Scripture.[42]

On this point Luther was adamant,

> for once the pure and certain Word is taken away, there remains no consolation, no salvation, no life.[43]

Even defending God's word was unacceptable to Luther, since this would elevate man to a place of authority and judgment over scripture. Man must not judge scripture; rather, he must judge according to scripture.[44]

> Among Christians the rule is . . . to hear, believe, and persevere in the Word of God, through which alone we obtain whatever knowledge we have of God and divine things. We are not to determine out of ourselves what we must believe about Him, but to hear and learn it from Him.[45]

Not only did Luther view a rationalistic defense of Christianity as immoral, but also as utterly unnecessary, since God's Word is self-authenticating.[46] Concerning human, or rational, defenses of scripture Luther, with tongue in cheek wrote:

> What a splendid argument! I approve Scripture. Therefore I am superior to Scripture. John the Baptist acknowledges and confesses Christ. He points to Him with his finger. Therefore he is superior to Christ. The Church approves the Christian faith and doctrine. Therefore the Church is superior to them.
>   To refuse this wicked and blasphemous doctrine of theirs you have a clear text and a thunderbolt. Here Paul subordinates himself, an Angel from heaven, teachers on earth, and any other masters at all to Sacred Scripture. This Queen must rule, and everyone must obey, and be subject to, her. The Pope, Luther, Augustine, Paul, an angel from

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[42] Becker, *Foolishness of God*, 170.

[43] "Lectures on Galatians, 1535." In *Luther's Works*, ed. Jaroslov Pelikan (Saint Louis: Concordia, 1963) 26. 77.

[44] "Sermons on the Gospel of St. John, 1530–32." In *Luther's Works*, 23. 237.

[45] "Psalm 110." In *Luther's Works*, 13. 237.

[46] "The Bablonian Captivity of the Church, 1520." In *Luther's Works*, 36. 107–8. See also *Works of Martin Luther*, 1. 347.

heaven— these should not be masters, judges, or arbiters, but only witnesses . . . and Confessors of Scripture.[47]

It is no point of irony that Luther, the champion of justification through faith, believed that man possesses no authority in epistemology or apologetics, just as possesses no authority in his salvation. *Sola scriptura*, the

> Protestant doctrine of the Bible, does away with the dualism of Scholastic epistemology. It is no longer possible for man to have true knowledge about anything apart from the Bible. And especially is it impossible to have any true knowledge about God apart from the Bible.[48]

With the Protestant endeavor to learn the distinctly scriptural doctrine of salvation came a Protestant desire to employ a distinctly scriptural apologetic which upheld, not denied, divine authority. In the work of Martin Luther this apologetic was firmly established. The responsibility of the reformation movement subsequent to Martin Luther, then, was the maintenance and development of Luther's distinctly scriptural apologetic.

III. THE SYNTHESIS: POST-LUTHER PROTESTANT APOLOGETICS

Following Luther's death, the mantle of leadership in the German Reformation fell to Philip Melanchthon. Melanchthon, however, did not maintain all of Luther's views, diverging from them on several significant issues, including apologetics. It was the continuing development[49] of Melanchthon's thought that allowed him to revert to several pre-Reformation concepts and thus to diverge from Luther's biblical defense of the faith. In this respect, it can be said that Melanchthon stood as a synthesis between scholastic and reformed apologetics.

Melanchthon was born in 1497, when the humanist method of learning which characterized the northern Renaissance had already reached Germany. During his university years Melanchthon studied with several humanist scholars. While Luther had been educated in the scholastic tradition of the middle ages, Melanchthon was educated in the humanist tradition of the Renaissance. Following the completion of his degree, Melanchthon was recommended by his grand uncle, Reuchlin, one of the foremost humanists in Germany, to a faculty chair at the recently founded University of Wittenberg.

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[47]"Lectures on Galatians, 1535." In *Luther's Works*, 26. 57–58.

[48]Van Til, *Christian Epistemology*, 65.

[49]Melanchthon's *Loci Communes* underwent numerous revisions and editions between the years 1521 and 1555.

At Wittenberg, under the influence of Luther, Melanchthon for the moment set aside his classical humanist studies, giving his full attention to the study of Greek and theology. Soon he was at the forefront of the Reformation as one of its most significant leaders. By 1520 he had written on Pauline doctrine against scholasticism, and by 1521 he had published the first edition of the *Loci Communes*, a paramount work of the Reformation. These and other early writings appear to demonstrate that he underwent a clear and final break from his earlier notions. Repeatedly, he denounced the rationalism of scholasticism and upheld the reformation principles of the supremacy of scripture[50] and justification through faith alone.[51]

Under the influence of Luther, Melanchthon set aside his belief in the importance of human merit in salvation. He came to realize that rationalism had crept into the synergistic soteriology of medieval Christianity.[52] He realized that man is not free to earn the merit of Christ, but bound to sin. Because all men are depraved, no one by his own ability can avoid sin.[53] Since "man by his natural powers can do nothing but sin,"[54] all human powers are impure. This implies that, just as the human will is insufficient for acquiring salvation, human reason is insufficient for acquiring and defending a true knowledge of God.

Melanchthon attacked Scholasticism because it upheld the freedom of the will as a meritorious agent in salvation. "In place of faith, the anchor of the conscience, Scholastic theology has taught works and satisfactions by men."[55] Melanchthon knew the Scholastics were wrong[56] when he wrote, "all that stupid and godless men have written about free will and justification by works is nothing but a pharisaic tradition."[57]

Inspired by his identification with Luther,[58] Melanchthon's anti-Scholastic attitude carried over from soteriology to philosophy. "How corrupt," he wrote, "are all the theological hallucinations of those who have offered us the subtleties of Aristotle instead of the teachings of Christ."[59] Early in life Melanchthon rejected the teachings of

[50]Philip Melanchthon, "Paul and the Scholastics, 1520." In *Selected Writings*, trans. Charles Leander Hill (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1962) 48.

[51]Philip Melanchthon, "Circular Themes, 1520." In *Selected Writings*, 59.

[52]Philip Melanchthon, "Loci Communes, 1521." In *Melanchthon and Bucer*, ed. Wilhelm Pauk (LCC; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1969) 23.

[53]Ibid., 28.

[54]Ibid., 47.

[55]Ibid., 43.

[56]Ibid., 26.

[57]Ibid., 29.

[58]Ibid., 10.

[59]Ibid., 19.

Aristotle, the same teachings which Aquinas had employed in his attempt to know and to prove God apart from scripture. Melanchthon wrote "not to call students away from the Scriptures to obscure and complicated arguments, but rather to summon them to the Scriptures,"[60] for "it is not necessary to believe in any other articles than the ones Scripture approves."[61] In 1521 there was nothing Melanchthon desired more

> than that all Christians be occupied in greatest freedom with the divine Scriptures alone and be thoroughly transformed into their nature. For since the godhead has portrayed its most complete image in them, it cannot be known from any other source with more certainty or accuracy. Anyone is mistaken who seeks to ascertain the nature of Christianity from any other source except canonical Scripture. For how much of its purity the [Scholastic] commentaries lack! In Scripture you will find nothing unworthy of honor; in the commentaries how many things depend on philosophy, on the judgement of human reason! And these clash absolutely head on with spiritual judgement."[62]

Although early in his career he rejected Scholasticism and its use of ancient philosophy, viewing it as "darkness and untruth,"[63] Melanchthon's views were always developing and even then beginning to change.

In his early years Melanchthon clearly resembled Luther in his stance against Scholasticism and its dependence upon human reason. Yet, a study of his later writings, especially those composed after the death of Luther in 1546, show a growing dependence upon both the human will in salvation and, subsequently, human reason in knowing God. This can best be explained in terms of his strong humanist background and later continuation of humanist studies related to his establishment of educational curriculum for German schools and universities.

In the 1533 edition of his *Loci Communes* Melanchthon omitted the disparaging remarks he had made against the Scholastics and their philosophical approach in the 1521 edition.[64] Although in 1521 Melanchthon repudiated any concept of free will and denied any capacity of natural man for knowing God, in the 1555 edition of *Loci* he wrote of man's "natural light" and active will, and even included proofs for the existence of God.[65]

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[60] Ibid., 19.

[61] Melanchthon, "Paul and the Scholastics, 1520." In *Selected Writings*, 48.

[62] Melanchthon, *Loci Communes*, 1521, 19.

[63] Quoted in ibid., 7.

[64] Richard R. Caemmerer, "The Melanchthonian Blight." *CTM* 18 (1947) 325.

[65] Philip Melanchthon, "Loci Communes, 1555." trans. and ed. Clyde L. Manschreck (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1965).

Melanchthon's later view of salvation can be said to be reformed in that he advocated justification through faith. "God forgives us our sins," he wrote, "and accepts us, in that he imputes righteousness to us for the sake of the Son, although we are still weak and sinful. We must, however, accept this imputed righteousness with faith."[66] Melanchthon certainly did not hold the same view as the Scholastics who claimed that "man merits forgiveness of sins through his own fulfillment of the divine law. . . ."[67] In his later view of the role of the human will, however, Melanchthon differed with Luther. Whereas Luther viewed man's will as passive in salvation, Melanchthon viewed man's will as active. "We should not think that a man is a piece of wood or stone," in response to God's work of salvation.[68] God "draws the one who is willing, not the one who resists."[69] For Luther, the will of man is acted upon by God in salvation, but for Melanchthon (in 1555) the will of man acts with God in accepting salvation. This synergistic concept of salvation was a significant step toward a synthesis of medieval and reformed beliefs.

Not only could man's will choose salvation through faith, believed Melanchthon, but his reasoning capacities could gain a knowledge of God. In his later writings Melanchthon referred to man's natural ability to know God apart from scripture. In man is a natural understanding

> that God is an eternal, omnipotent, wise, true, good, just, and pure being, who created all things, who wills that all rational creatures be like him in virtue and who will punish and remove the rational creatures who are repugnant to his wisdom and righteousness.
> This is a legal understanding of the law, and it remains in man even after he sins.[70]

By the "natural light" of his own nature, man could come to know God and uphold him in civil obedience.

> By nature all men know that there is an eternal omnipotent being full of wisdom, goodness, and righteousness, that created and preserves all creatures, and also by natural understanding, that this same . . . Lord is called God. Many wise people, therefore, such as Socrates . . . Aristotle, and Cicero, have said that there is an almighty, wise, good, just God, and that we must serve this one Lord in obedience to the light he has built into our nature . . . [71]

[66] Ibid., 161.
[67] Ibid., 75.
[68] Ibid., 60.
[69] Ibid., 190.
[70] Ibid., 128.
[71] Ibid., 5.

Revelation, then with its message of salvation, could be only supplementary to Melanchthon's naturalistic approach to God. Revelation only adds something to that which man himself can and ought to say about God.[72] With this and other similar claims, Melanchthon reverted toward Scholastic theology and in effect synthesized several of its elements with elements of the reformed faith.

Melanchthon even came to use rational proofs for the existence of God in his commentary on Romans and later editions of the *Loci Communes*. These proofs were structured just as those used by Aquinas and the Scholastics, whom he had once condemned. Melanchthon employed such concepts as the orderliness of nature, the rational nature of man, the necessity of a single first cause, and the teleological goal of a final cause, asserting that each of these necessitates the existence of God, therefore God exists.[73]

Whether these proofs in Melanchthon's scheme were merely to aid believers or intended to be used as common ground with unbelievers in defending the faith cannot be known with certainty. Melanchthon did, however, elevate the capabilities of human reason and stressed this in his later theological discussions, whereas earlier he had denied that man had any ability to know God through reason. Because he elevated the role of natural reason, Melanchthon, like the scholastics before him, necessarily held revelation not in a position superior to reason, but coordinate with reason.

Because he was a transitional figure whose thinking was constantly in flux, Melanchthon is a difficult person to evaluate. It is evident, however, that although he was once an advocate of Luther's biblical theology and scriptural method of defending that theology, Melanchthon drifted somewhat from the original views of the Lutheran reformation. This he did as he came to embrace certain elements of scholastic Christianity. Thus, Melanchthon shifted from the views of Luther to a position significantly closer to that of Aquinas.

In the final analysis it was Martin Luther (in contrast to the scholasticism of Aquinas and the synergism of Melanchthon) that upheld the supreme authority of revelation in all matters. It was Luther who without compromise returned to the text of scripture, not only for the truth of God concerning knowledge and salvation, but also for his defense of that truth. Luther claimed no ability of his own either in salvation or apologetics. Rather, by faith, he obediently restated the truths of scripture, and upon those truths placed his complete confidence.

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[72]Ibid., xxx.
[73]Ibid., xxix–xxx.

THE CASE FOR
MODERN PRONUNCIATION OF
BIBLICAL LANGUAGES

Gary G. Cohen and C. Norman Sellers

In the majority of Christian educational institutions today artificial pronunciations for NT Greek and OT Hebrew are used—often attempts at a recreation of the true *ancient sounds. However, Modern Greek and Modern Hebrew voicings are in reality the most effective ways to teach these ancient biblical tongues. This is especially so because within the last forty years (a) audio-visual teaching aids have become available so that NT Greek can be taught as a living language, and (b) OT Hebrew is actually living again in Israel and can now be mastered with a new thoroughness. One difficulty is that the current generation of teachers was trained in the "older" pronunciations themselves and are thus hesitant to make such a change.*

* * *

INTRODUCTION

E VERY foreign language offers unique learning experiences to those who study it. Often these experiences are only indirectly related to the actual study of the language and include the understanding and appreciation of their cultures, modes of thinking, and a general broadening of intellectual horizons.

Students of NT Greek sometimes encounter statements such as "Say something in Greek," which are often the cause for some embarrassment and bring into focus certain problems with pedagogical methodology often used in the study of ancient foreign languages. How to respond to such a request is particularly a problem for the student of NT Greek or OT Hebrew. The student might decline by explaining that NT Greek is studied only for translation purposes, not for conversation. But this sounds strange to anyone acquainted with the study of modern foreign languages, and one must wonder about a teaching method which prepares a student to verbalize little more than a list of words from his grammar book or the Greek NT, to say nothing of auditory comprehension or composition.

And it is not only the Greek student who is at a verbal or auditory loss. Even after years of working with the language, and after having mastered the translation and exegesis of the NT, many Greek scholars would be incapable of communicating on the streets of Athens on the basis of their NT Greek knowledge alone.

This raises several serious questions: Have the scholars of biblical languages always been content with translation alone? Have they always neglected the learning of the language in a way that would enable them to communicate with native speakers so as to benefit from the native intuition of usage and syntax?

And what about students of biblical Hebrew? Is it not possible that even more than in the case of Greek, Modern Hebrew offers students an opportunity to understand their Hebrew Bibles better? Is it not possible that the pedagogical methodology of American biblical languages teachers is past due for extensive revision?

As A. T. Robertson said, "this is indeed a knotty problem and has been the occasion of fierce controversy."[1] It is not the intention of the writers to feed this controversy, but it does seem that something needs to be said today in defense of treating NT Greek and OT Hebrew as older dialects of languages which are still living today.

HISTORICAL METHOD

Invariably, when the subject of Greek pronunciation is broached, this is the question: How did native speakers during the apostolic period pronounce it? Robertson wrote that "we may be sure of one thing, the pronunciation of the vernacular was not exactly like the ancient literary attic [classical] nor precisely like the modern Greek vernacular, but veering more toward the latter."[2] Howard recognizes the complicating factor of dialects when he observes that "it is probable that considerable differences existed between the Greek of Rome and Asia, Hellos and Egypt."[3]

It is generally recognized that it is impossible to reconstruct precisely the pronunciation system of 1st century Greek speakers. And as a result some have preferred a reconstructed classical [attic] pronunciation, while others have preferred to use a real pronunciation that is capable of being tested by actual first-hand observation, the pronunciation of Modern Greek.

It is Erasmus (1466–1536) who is generally credited with formulating the reconstructed classical pronunciation, generally popular in

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[1]A. T. Robertson, *A Grammar of the Greek New Testament in the Light of Historical Research* (Nashville: Broadman, 1923), 236.
[2]Ibid., 239.
[3]Ibid., 41–42.

the West today. At about the same time Reuchlin (1455–1522) introduced the Byzantine (modern) pronunciation in Western Europe.

The debate over the relative merits of these two systems became so heated in Cambridge in 1542 that "it was categorically forbidden to distinguish αι from ε or ει and οι from ι, under penalty of expulsion from the Senate, exclusion from the attainment of a degree, rustication for students, and domestic chastisement for boys."[4]

But in the end it was Erasmian pronunciation that won the day in the West.

Comparison of the Two Systems

One might think that the differences between the two systems are very large, but they are in fact less different than they are similar.

There are only six letters of the alphabet in which there are pronunciation differences:

	Erasmian	Modern
β	b - boy	v - victory
γ	g - got	g - got, but also y before ε, as in yet
δ	d - dog	th - the
ζ	dz - ads	z - zoo
η	a - late	ee - feet

The larger differences are found in the pronunciation of the diphthongs, among which only ου is pronounced the same in both systems. The differences are:

	Erasmian	Modern
ει	a - late/i - ice	ee - feet
οι	oi - oil	ee - feet
υι	uee - queen	ee - feet
αι	ai - aisle	e - let
ιυ	eu - feud	ev or ef (depending on the following sound)
αυ	ow - cow	av or af (depending on the following sound)

In addition to these differences, two consonant clusters vary between the two systems:

ντ	nt - sent	nd - send
	(ἐντολή = entolē)	(endolē)
μπ	mp - lamp	b - biscuit

It is clear, then, that except for the diphthongs and these consonant clusters, there is little difference between the two systems of pronunciation.

[4] Ibid., 237.

Since one cannot reconstruct precisely the 1st-century pronunciation of NT Greek, one must make his decision about the system he will use based on the relative merits of each. The Erasmian system is based on the principle that each letter should be pronounced as differently as possible from every other letter. This is its chief pedagogical advantage for beginning students, even though it is obviously phonetically naive. The similarity between Erasmian β and English "b" is pedagogically more simple to teach than the modern phonological value, "v." The same is true of αι and English ai in "aisle." Thus, if the student is not expected to speak to anyone in Greek, the relative ease with which the transition from English to Greek can be made is advantageous. But the advantage is very small indeed if in the process the student is giving up the possibility of learning to speak and hear the language—something which every modern foreign language teacher would consider a *sine qua non*. It is not a great burden to learn the extra few sounds necessary to make the transition from English to Modern Greek pronunciation as opposed to Erasmian pronunciation. After all, there are considerable differences between English and either system which must be mastered in any event. The supposed advantage of Erasmian pronunciation shrinks even further when it is realized that there is no unanimity even among Erasmians about how some of the consonants and vowels are to be pronounced. For example, ει is long ā to some and long ī to others; o (omicron) is long ō to some and short o to others.

There are other more obvious advantages to using Modern Greek pronunciation. One of these is that the student is learning the sounds of a living language. A knowledge of the modern pronunciation will make it possible for the student to converse with native speakers, whether in his own country or abroad, and this will be a great source of encouragement as he struggles to master the rudiments of the language.

Another advantage of the modern pronunciation is that it makes it possible for the student to use a number of audio materials now becoming available. Spiros Zodhiates, for example, has produced cassette tapes of Machen's vocabularies and exercises, as well as both the Koine NT and Modern Greek NT. Those who have actually gained thinking, speaking, hearing, and composition facility in a second language will recognize immediately that such kinds of audio aids are invaluable.

Yet another advantage of the Modern Greek pronunciation is that it makes much more possible an approach (however slight at first) toward the acquisition of language intuition. Native intuition it may never become, but the constant hearing and speaking of a real pronunciation system will undoubtedly facilitate a better intuition for semantic range and grammatical nuance.

Should One Change?

The circumstances today are much different from the time of Erasmus and even A. T. Robertson. Access to study opportunities in Greece is easier and audio materials such as easily duplicated cassettes are more readily available. In light of the advantages of the modern pronunciation and the easy access to modern Greek materials as well as native speakers of Modern Greek, there seems to be no compelling reason to retain the Erasmian pronunciation system.

HEBREW PRONUNCIATION

Many of the arguments in favor of Modern Greek pronunciation apply to the employment of Modern Hebrew pronunciation as well. But there are some differences.

Hebrew is a Semitic language, is read from right to left, and has gutteral sounds not regularly utilized by speakers of English. Its alphabet is radically different from the Latin alphabet of English, and Hebrew words cannot be readily associated with English vocabulary for easy memorization. In general the mastery of Hebrew seems to procede more slowly than Greek, and its biblical literature is much more voluminous (about 70% of the Bible) as well as more varied.

Professors of Hebrew, therefore, even more than those of Greek, must try hard to find teaching methods which produce good results. Some components which have proven to be highly successful in teaching Hebrew are:

1. Adoption of the modern Israeli pronunciation.
2. Utilization of modern audio and video tools for learning.
3. Integration of simple conversation into first and second year biblical Hebrew teaching.
4. Emphasis on reading large quantities of Hebrew, even if this involves using some of the modern lexicon indexes, in contrast to the much out-dated and pedagogically weak method of forcing elementary students to spend the bulk of their time hunting for words in the lexicon.[5]

What precipitates these suggestions? In the first place it needs to be understood that Modern Hebrew was revived on the basis of biblical models, and where these could not be found, Mishnaic and later Hebrew models. Israeli Hebrew, thus, is much closer to biblical Hebrew than Modern Greek is to Koine. In fact, the average Israeli

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[5]Using such helps, for example, as T. A. Armstrong, D. L. Busby, and Cyril F. Carr, *A Reader's Hebrew-English Lexicon of the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1980–); John Joseph Owens, *Genesis* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1978); Bruce Einspahr, *Index to the Brown, Driver, & Briggs Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament* (Chicago: Moody, 1976).

high school student can read the OT fluently and older children can read it with better comprehension than some American Hebrew scholars, to say nothing of college and seminary students. Hebrew is a living language, which one can study and hear in the classrooms and on the streets of the land of the Bible, and there is now available a large mass of material from books to newspapers to tapes and records and Ulpan courses of every description. Israelis teach in schools all over the world, but for the serious student of Hebrew, the wise course is to follow in the footsteps of Jerome, who in the 4th century went to Bethlehem to learn Hebrew from native speakers. Israel is a country which is prepared for teaching Hebrew to all comers, and its teachers are very good indeed.

American college and seminary students as well as teachers have the opportunity to benefit from this new availability of resources for learning the language of the OT. And Modern Hebrew provides the essential, but often neglected, ingredients for any language learning which will be truly meaningful: hearing, speaking, and composition. To neglect these in favor of reading only puts the student of biblical Hebrew at a disadvantage which slows progress immensely. If the exegete realizes, as do the teachers of any other modern language such as German or French, that all four aspects of language learning (hearing, speaking, composition, and reading) must be incorporated in the instructional process, he will immediately recognize the advantage of using Modern Hebrew. Protestant evangelical Hebrew linguistic scholarship is far behind Israeli scholarship because it has refused to recognize this basic fact of language learning: one cannot approach native intuition (which should be the goal of all language learning) unless he incorporates all four aspects of language learning. The result is often a weakened understanding which sometimes results in artificial exegesis and translation.

Modern Hebrew pronunciation follows the Sephardic (eastern Mediterranean and Spanish) pronunciation of the few consonants and vowels which differ from the pronunciation in the Ashkenazi (European and eastern European) and "Rabbinic" systems. The system has been adopted almost world-wide by Jews except in some synagogues. The main differences between Modern and the other systems is in the pronunciation of ד, ו, ת, and the vowels ָ and ַ. Israelis pronounce ד as "d" (instead of *dh* without the dagesh), ו as v (instead of *w*), and ת as t (instead of *th* without the dagesh). Both ָ and ַ are pronounced like "a" in "father." Other differences between what one would hear in an American seminary and on the streets of Jerusalem mostly involve the difference between words artifically pronounced, and words pronounced in flowing speech and real phonetic environments.

There is absolutely no compelling reason to continue the "American-Protestant" pronunciation of biblical Hebrew, whose original pronunciation cannot be accurately reconstructed in any case. Modern Hebrew is the key to a whole new world of OT study, and opponents only impoverish themselves and their students.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

On the basis, then, of the overwhelming advantages of using modern living pronunciation systems for the teaching of biblical Greek and Hebrew, we conclude that the path of the future ought to lie, and indeed will lie, in that direction. The transition from the outdated systems to the modern ones will require some patience and understanding, especially among teaching colleagues. But it is worth the effort, for everyone will benefit: the teacher himself, the student, and the future recipients of the student's exegesis from the pulpit and in the classroom.

AIMING THE MIND:
A KEY TO GODLY LIVING

George J. Zemek, Jr.

The Bible is a persistent witness to the fact that behavior flows from a noetic wellspring. Noetic depravity, expressed by various terms and idiomatic combinations in both testaments, necessitates a redirection of man's faculties. Repentance establishes an initial re-orientation; however, the Scriptures stress that the key to a godly life-style is a sustained spiritual mindset. This is the focal point of Biblical ethics.

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THE NOETIC MALADY

T HE noetic effects[1] of the Fall are attested on nearly every page of the Holy Scriptures. If one fails to take seriously God's infallible diagnosis of this malady, attempts at treatment will be at best directed only to symptoms and the result will be fatal.

A Survey of Noetic Terminology

OT Terminology

The concept of "mind" in the OT is conveyed in certain contexts by רוּחַ, נֶפֶשׁ, and לֵב/לְבָב.[2] All but the last should be considered secondary terms because of the infrequency with which they are used in contexts in the Hebrew Bible where this English translation value is appropriate.

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[1]Although English dictionaries define "noetic" only in terms of intellect, no reference to mere logic in nonmoral contexts is intended here. Coming from νοῦς, "mind," the term is used here as it is in the NT to describe fallen man's thinking and reasoning processes, which are consistently perverted in the spiritually vital issues of life.

[2]Aaron Pick, *Dictionary of Old Testament Words for English Readers* (reprint; Grand Rapids: Kregel, 1977) 274. Pick also lists זְמָה (cf. Job 17:11; Prov 21:27; 24:9; Isa 32:7); however, it will not be discussed here since its occurrences are few and its anthropological and hamartiological impact is transparent.

רוח

"Rarely . . . רוּחַ is used of the seat of mentality."[3] A survey of usage based on a Hebrew concordance along with LXX renderings (where πνεῦμα is *not* used to translate רוּחַ)[4] justifies special usage categories for רוּחַ as the seat or organ "of mental acts" and "of the will."[5] Renderings of "mind, disposition, temper, mood, disposition of mind,"[6] etc., are found in contexts associating רוּחַ with attitude of mind and/or volition.[7] For example, the Lord says in Ezek 11:5, "I know your thoughts"[8] [וּמַעֲלוֹת רוּחֲכֶם אֲנִי יְדַעְתִּיהָ]. Later in Ezekiel, God says, "And what comes into your mind [וְהָעֹלָה עַל־רוּחֲכֶם] will not come about, when you say: 'We will be like the nations, like the tribes of the lands, serving wood and stone' " (20:32). Similarly, 1 Chr 28:12 speaks of the plan for the temple and environs that David "had in mind" (וְתַבְנִית כֹּל אֲשֶׁר הָיָה בָרוּחַ עִמּוֹ).

Other similar usages of רוּחַ relate theologically to the subsequent discussion. Of particular significance are those usages where רוּחַ is parallel to לֵב in contexts of cognition, attitude, or volition.[9] The Lord spiritually X-rays the motives of the רוּחַ (e.g., Prov 16:2, 18, 19, 32) and exposes mankind's fatal condition. The cure for the fallen condition of his רוּחַ requires nothing less than the administration of sovereign grace by the Great Physician: "I will give you a new heart [לֵב חָדָשׁ] and put a new spirit [וְרוּחַ חֲדָשָׁה] within you" (Ezek 36:26; cf. 11:19).[10] Divine efficacy and the responsibility of man's proper self-estimation in comparison with God's perfection seem to converge in passages such as Isa 57:15: "For thus says the high and exalted [He alone is רָם וְנִשָּׂא] One, who lives forever, whose name is Holy, 'I dwell

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[3]Ernest De Wit Burton, *Spirit, Soul, and Flesh: The Usage of Πνεῦμα, Ψυχή, and Σάρξ in Greek Writings and Translated Works from the Earliest Period to 180 A.D.; and of their Equivalents* רוּחַ, נֶפֶשׁ, *and* בָּשָׂר *in the Hebrew Old Testament* (Historical and Linguistic Studies, second series; Chicago: University of Chicago, 1918) 59–60.

[4]Cf. Elmar Camilo Dos Santos, *An Expanded Index for the Hatch-Redpath Concordance to the Septuagint* (Jerusalem: Dugith, n.d.) 190–91.

[5]See usage categories 6 and 7 in BDB, p. 925.

[6]KB, 2.878.

[7]See the discussion in Hans Walter Wolff, *Anthropology of the Old Testament* (London: SCM, 1974) 37–39.

[8]*NASB*. Unless otherwise indicated all English translations are taken from this version. However, note the significant impact of the *NIV* rendering: "what is going through your mind."

[9]See, for example, Job 15:12–13 (apostasy of heart/apostasy in spirit); Pss 34:19 (broken in heart/crushed in spirit); 51:12 (a cleansed heart/a rightly fixed [נָכוֹן] spirit); 51:19 (a broken spirit/a broken heart); 77:7 (meditation with heart/רוּחַ + חָפַשׂ); Dan 5:20 (arrogance [רוּם] of heart/arrogance [תְּקֵף + זוּד] of spirit); etc. All references here and subsequently follow the Hebrew versification.

[10]Wolff stresses the fact that "in Ezek 11:19; 36:26 the gift of the new heart and the new will are linked together" (*Anthropology of the OT*, 38).

on a high [מָרוֹם] and holy place, and also with the contrite and lowly of spirit [דַּכָּא + שָׁפָל + רוּחַ] in order to revive the spirit of the lowly [רוּחַ שְׁפָלִים] and to revive the heart of the contrite [לֵב נִדְכָּאִים]."[11]

It should be noted that although the NT authors employ a wide range of more explicit terms for "mind," there is still some carry-over corresponding to the above usages of רוּחַ. At times πνεῦμα also is viewed "as the seat of consciousness and intelligence"[12] and "as the seat of emotion and will; especially of the moral and religious life, including thought as concerned with religion."[13]

נֶפֶשׁ

What has been said about רוּחַ also holds true for נֶפֶשׁ but to a lesser degree. Although נֶפֶשׁ is employed "rarely of the seat of mentality,"[14] there are several contexts in which it connotes "the seat of will and moral action, especially when joined with לֵבָב, but occasionally alone."[15] נֶפֶשׁ is associated with knowing (יָדַע) in Josh 23:14 (cf. Ps 139:14), with reckoning (שָׁעַר) in Prov 23:7, with wishing or desiring in Gen 23:8,[16] with imagining or devising (דָּמָה) in Esth 4:13, and with choosing (בָּחַר) in Job 7:15. Consequently, נֶפֶשׁ in Scripture is the seat of man's pride and humility, and thus another term which conveys his accountability and responsibility.[17] Of particular significance for the study at hand is David's challenge to Israel's leaders in 1 Chr 22:19: "Now set your heart and your soul to seek (עַתָּה תְּנוּ לְבַבְכֶם וְנַפְשְׁכֶם[18] לִדְרוֹשׁ) the Lord your God; arise, therefore, and build the sanctuary

[11]The anthropological and hamartiological inferences from the antithetical plays on words are quite obvious.

[12]Burton, *Spirit, Soul, and Flesh*, 179; e.g., 1 Cor 2:11.

[13]Ibid.; cf. Matt 26:41; Acts 17:16; 19:21; 20:22; 2 Cor 2:13; Eph 4:23; etc.

[14]Ibid., 65; cf. BDB, 661.

[15]Burton, *Spirit, Soul, and Flesh*, 65. It is interesting that in BDB this category of usage is regarded as dubious, although they cite Gen 23:8; 2 Kgs 9:15; etc., as possible examples (p. 661). Apart from the invalid critical assumptions expressed in categories 7–10, their reservations are properly grounded in light of the wholistic anthropology of the OT (esp. in reference to נֶפֶשׁ, "life, self, person," etc.) and the fact that the majority of these occurrences of נֶפֶשׁ are in parallel with לֵבָב. Even though all of the references may be affected metonymically, it is nevertheless advantageous to recognize a category of "נֶפֶשׁ as Expression of the Will" (see "The Anthropology of the Old Testament," by Edmond Jacob in *TDNT*, s.v., ψυχή, κτλ.," by G. Bertram *et al.*, 9.621–22).

[16]KB prefer to categorize Gen 23:8 and 2 Kgs 9:15 under *purpose* (2.628); cf. נֶפֶשׁ plus verbals and substantives from the root אוה in Deut 12:15, 20, 21; 14:26; 18:6; etc.

[17]For example, Hab 2:4 (נֶפֶשׁ + יָשַׁר + negative); cf. Lev 16:29, 31; 23:27, 29, 32; Num 29:7; Ps 24:4; etc.

[18]Such collocations of verbs of orientation or direction with anthropological terms which suggest rational or volitional nuances plus subsequent infinitives show the priority of aiming the mind in the OT. This should become increasingly obvious as more biblical data are surveyed and summarized.

of the Lord, so that you may bring the ark of the covenant of the Lord, and the holy vessels of God into the house that is to be built for the name of the Lord."

Based upon the use of נֶפֶשׁ in the OT as a metonymy, NT ψυχή may denote "the powers, possibilities, and interests of the self, the human person."[19] Usages of ψυχή can also point to "the seat of vitality, thought, emotion, will; the human mind in the larger sense of the word; most frequently with special reference to its religious capacities and experiences."[20] The compound word for double mindedness (cf. δίψυχος in James 1:8; 4:8) is especially illustrative.[21]

יֵצֶר

Although it occurs infrequently in the OT, יֵצֶר is extremely significant. The semitic root יצר, to form, shape, create, fashion, etc., is most frequently associated with the activity of the potter.[22] יֵצֶר is also used to denote divine purpose (i.e., pre-ordaining, planning).[23] A verbal form is used with a negative connotation of human devising in Ps 94:20.

The usage of the substantive for "what is framed in the mind"[24] is worthy of special attention. The references are to man's imaginations, devices, or purposes.[25] The hamartiological consequences associated with man's יֵצֶר stand out in sharp relief (cf. Gen 6:5; 8:21; Deut 31:21);[26] therefore, God's grace is desperately needed for noetic direction: "O Lord, the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Israel, our fathers, preserve this forever in the intentions of the heart of Thy people [לְיֵצֶר מַחְשְׁבוֹת לְבַב עַמֶּךְ שֶׁמְרָה־זֹּאת לְעוֹלָם], and direct their heart to Thee" (1 Chr 29:18).[27] Accountability is seen in the light of God judging volitional intent: "As for you, my son Solomon, know the God of your father and serve him with a whole heart [בְּלֵב שָׁלֵם] and a willing mind [וּבְנֶפֶשׁ חֲפֵצָה]; for the Lord searches all hearts [לֵבָב + דָּרַשׁ], and

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[19] Burton, *Spirit, Soul, and Flesh*, 184.

[20] Ibid., 183; cf. Acts 14:2; Eph 6:6; Phil 1:27; 2 Pet 2:14; Rev 18:14; etc.

[21] Cf. διψυχέω, διψυχία, and δίψυχος in the early Christian literature; BAGD, 200–201.

[22] Cf. יָצַר and its cognates in KB, 1.396 and BDB, 427.

[23] BDB, 427–28; cf. Ps 139:16; Isa 22:11; 37:26 (2 Kgs 19:25); 46:11; Jer 18:11.

[24] Ibid., 428; it is suggested the the word "formulation" could stand at the head of this important category of usage.

[25] Ibid.

[26] Contrast the biblical data with the Rabbinical teachings on הַטּוֹב יֵצֶר and יֵצֶר הָרַע (i.e., the good and bad impulses or tendencies in man); for brief surveys see: Gustav Friedrich Oehler, *Theology of the Old Testament* (trans. and ed. by George E. Day; New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1883) 161–63, and Theodorus C. Vriezen, *An Outline of Old Testament Theology* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1958) 311.

[27] The וְהָכֵן לְבָבָם אֵלֶיךָ greatly intensifies this request for volitional enablement.

understands every intent of the thoughts [וְכָל־יֵצֶר מַחֲשָׁבוֹת מֵבִין]. If you seek Him,[28] He will let you find Him; but if you forsake Him, He will reject you forever" (1 Chr 28:9). A *sustained* יֵצֶר (i.e., frame of mind or purpose)[29] is a prerequisite for godly living: "Thou wilt keep the nation of steadfast purpose [יֵצֶר סָמוּךְ] in perfect peace, because it trusts in Thee" (Isa 26:3).

לֵב/לֵבָב

It should not be surprising that לֵב/לֵבָב is the primary term in the OT for man's rational and volitional capacities, since "the Bible primarily views the heart as the centre of the consciously living man."[30] It is the "symbol for the focus of life."[31] "The heart is the organ which wills or decides, thinks, knows, and judges between right and wrong."[32] An extensive examination of these nuances is not possible here, so the following survey is selective.

In the semantic sphere of "the heart as the seat of rational functions,"[33] BDB and KB lexicons[34] provide a useful organization of the term's many occurrences.[35] Meanings of "mind, sense, understanding, intelligence," etc. for לֵב are common (cf. Isa 65:17; Prov 6:32; 7:7; 9:4, 16; 10:13, 21; 11:12; 12:11; Job 34:10, 34; etc.). Its usage as the subject of the verb יָדַע amplifies its cognitive significance.[36] However, the thinking לֵב is especially highlighted in collocations with חָשַׁב (i.e.,

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[28]Note the play on words with this occurrence of דָּרַשׁ.

[29]Cf. the force of the root סָמַךְ ("to lean, rest upon") in BDB, 701–2. The logical parallel of יֵצֶר סָמוּךְ with בְּךָ בָּטוּחַ is certainly not coincidental. Both סָמַךְ and בָּטַח magnify a dependence on divine resources.

[30]Wolff, *Anthropology of the OT*, 55; his whole chapter entitled "*leb(āb)*—Reasonable Man" is noteworthy (pp. 40–58).

[31]J. Barton Payne, *The Theology of the Older Testament* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1962) 225; see Payne's brief discussion of לֵב on pp. 225–26.

[32]Paul Heinisch, *Theology of the Old Testament* (trans. by William Heidt; Collegeville, MN: Liturgical, 1950) 160.

[33]*TDNT*, s.v. "καρδία, καρδιογνώστης, σκληροκαρδία," by Friedrich Baumgartel and Johannes Behm, 3.606; Baumgartel's brief treatment of "לֵבָב, לֵב" in the OT" is excellent (pp. 606–7). The various renderings of noetic terms in the LXX are especially informative (note Dos Santos, *Expanded Index*, 97; and for discussion, see *NIDNTT*, "νοῦς, by G. Harder, 3.124).

[34]Cf. BDB's usage categories 3 (p. 523 for לֵבָב and pp. 524–25 for לֵב), and KB's categories 7 and 8 (respectively "heart = mind, attention, consideration, understanding, intelligence" and "heart = the whole of the mind"; 1.470).

[35]Wolff observes that "in by far the greatest number of cases it is intellectual, rational functions that are ascribed to the heart" (*Anthropology of the OT*, 46).

[36]Note "you are to know in your heart that . . ." (יָדַע + עִם + לֵבָב; Deut 8:5); and "you know in all your hearts . . . " (יָדַע + בְּ + לֵבָב; Josh 23:14). Other occurrences with verbs such as בִּין (to perceive, discern) corroborate this (e.g., Isa 6:10 speaks of understanding with their hearts [בִּין + לֵבָב]).

"to think, account, reckon") and its derivatives.[37] Similarly, הָגָה and its derivatives[38] are special activities of the לֵב.[39] It should be noted that the לֵב is also viewed as the source of conversation, both internal[40] and articulated.[41]

Occurrences where the לֵב functions volitionally are inextricably related to the cognitive usages sampled above.[42] לֵב as the source of volition is widely attested through a variety of associations and idioms: the root נדב plus לֵב connotes a willing heart (e.g., Exod 35:5, 22, 29), the preposition מִן plus לֵב emphasizes the origination of purpose (e.g., Num 16:28; 24:13), the preposition עִם with לֵב plus the infinitive conveys determination (e.g., 1 Kgs 8:18; 2 Chr 24:4; 29:10); the verb עָלָה, the preposition עַל, לֵב, and the infinitive speak of motivation (e.g., 2 Kgs 12:5); the root חקק plus לֵב suggests resolution (e.g., Judg 5:15); the root אוה with לֵב stresses desire (e.g., Ps 21:3); the root ערך plus לֵב signifies planning (e.g., Prov 16:1); etc.[43] All such usages imply man's accountability before God.

NT Terminology

Before the specific noetic terms of the NT are surveyed, it is necessary to point out that many occurrences of καρδία are based on the precedent of לֵב in the OT.[44] Καρδία "is the seat of understanding, the source of thought and reflection."[45] "A striking feature of the NT

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[37]For discussion and examples, see *TWOT*, s.v. "חָשַׁב," by Leon J. Wood, 1.329–30.

[38]On these words for meditating and meditation, see BDB, 211–12.

[39]Cf. Pss 19:15; 39:4 (by parallelism); 49:4; Isa 33:18; 59:13.

[40]Cf. לֵב + בְּ + אָמַר; e.g., Esth 6:6; Pss 4:5; 10:6, 11, 13; 14:1; 53:2. For some fitting commentary see Wolff, *Anthropology of the OT*, 50. An attendant phenomenon would be the utilization of לֵב to connote the conscience (e.g., 1 Sam 24:6; 2 Sam 24:10).

[41]E.g., Job 8:10.

[42]Harder astutely points out that "in the OT the understanding belongs together with the will, and aims less at theoretical contemplation than at right conduct" (*NIDNTT*, s.v. "νοῦς," by G. Harder, 3.124).

[43]The *most* significant rational and volitional occurrences of לֵב which depict the concept of *mind-set* will be treated first negatively and then positively in the ensuing discussions. For an introductory survey, note BDB's fourth category (special reference to inclinations, resolutions and determinations of the will) on pp. 523, 525; and KB's categories 4 (heart = mood, inclination, disposition) and 6 (heart = will, intention) on 2.469.

[44]Sorg is correct when he asserts that "the NT use of *kardia* coincides with the OT understanding of the term" (*NIDNTT*, s.v. "καρδία," by T. Sorg, 2.182).

[45]*TDNT*, s.v. "καρδία, κτλ.," by J. Behm, 3.612. Cf. the καρδία and thinking, thoughts (Matt 9:4; Luke 9:47; Heb 4:12; etc.); perceiving (Matt 13:15; etc.); source of speech, both internal and articulated (Matt 12:34–35; 24:48); reason, ponder, imagine (Mark 2:6–8; Luke 1:51; 2:19; 5:22; etc.); *et al.*

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is the essential closeness of *kardia* to the concept *nous*, mind."[46]
Furthermore, καρδία "is the seat of the will, the source of resolves."[47]
These special usages of καρδία complement the following explicit
terms.

The vo- word complex[48]

Harder stresses the "whole group of words is associated more
firmly with the will."[49] As previously observed, rational and voli-
tional nuances interrelate ethically in the biblical corpus.

The verb νοέω ("to perceive, apprehend, understand, gain insight
into, think,"[50] etc.) is explicit (cf., e.g., Mark 7:18; 13:14; John 12:40).
One of the most significant anthropological terms in the NT is νοῦς
(i.e., the mind as the faculty of thinking, way of thinking; the in-
tellect, understanding; etc.).[51] It occurs in various contexts as de-
praved (i.e., ἀδόκιμος, Rom 1:28), futile (i.e., ματαιότης, Eph 4:17[52]),
self-centered (cf. Col 2:18), and corrupted or defiled (cf. 1 Tim 6:5;
2 Tim 3:8; Titus 1:15). Therefore, it stands in desperate need of divine
intervention (cf. διανοίγω + νοῦς in Luke 24:45)[53] and renewal (cf.

[46]*NIDNTT*, s.v. "καρδία," by Sorg, 2.182. Note the functions of the mind in
association with καρδία (e.g., Mark 2:6; Luke 2:51; 3:15; 9:47; etc.).

[47]*TDNT*, s.v. "καρδία, κτλ.," by Behm, 3.612. Cf. usage categories γ, δ, ε, and η in
BAGD, pp. 403–4. Note καρδία and planning, purposes, counsels (e.g., Acts 5:4; 11:33;
1 Cor 4:5; Heb 4:12; etc.); also note τίθημι + ἐν + καρδία in Luke 21:14, and προ-
αιρέω + the dative of καρδία in 2 Cor 9:7.

[48]Cf. the root vo- ("know") in Bruce M. Metzger, *Lexical Aids for Students of
New Testament Greek* (Princeton: Bruce M. Metzger, 1971) 63. For a handy classifi-
cation of the derivatives in the NT, see John Stegenga, *The Greek-English Analytical
Concordance of the Greek-English New Testament* (Jackson, Mississippi: Hellenes-
English Biblical Foundation, 1963) 522–25.

[49]*NIDNTT*, s.v. "νοῦς," by Harder, 3.127.

[50]BAGD, 540; note some of their illustrative citations from early Christian literature.

[51]BAGD, 544–45; cf. Behm's usage categories a, c, and d in *TDNT*, "νοέω, κτλ.,"
by J. Behm and E. Würthwein, 4.952–53. For some excellent theological commentary,
see: W. David Stacey, *The Pauline View of Man in Relation to its Judaic and Hellenis-
tic Background* (London: MacMillan, 1956), 198–205; and Theo J. W. Kunst, "The
Implications of Pauline Theology of the Mind for the Work of the Theologian,"
unpublished Th.D. dissertation (Dallas: Dallas Theological Seminary, 1979).

[52]Eggleston comments, "The reason of man's mind still functions, but no matter
where it functions the result is vanity and evil, always in opposition to God. Man still
has some desire to investigate truth, but the corruption of the mind renders him
incapable of the right way of investigating truth. Unless seen in relation to God and
His Word, this reasoning only leads to further perversion" (Donald Eggleston, "The
Biblical Concept of νοῦς: The Noetic Effects of the Fall and Regeneration," unpublished
M.Div. thesis [Winona Lake, IN: Grace Theological Seminary, 1979] 53–54).

[53]Note the important parallel of διανοίγω + καρδία in Acts 16:14.

Rom 12:2;[54] Eph 4:23[55]). The only cure for mankind's inflated and perverted νοῦς is the νοῦν Χριστοῦ (1 Cor 2:16; note the polemic against self-aggrandizement in chaps. 1–3).

The NT data of νόημα ("what is thought" or "what is willed"[56]) are semantically similar. An important addition is the attestation of actual or potential Satanic involvement (cf. 2 Cor 4:4; 11:3); consequently, the prerequisite for godly living is to "take captive every thought [πᾶν νόημα] to make it obedient to Christ" (2 Cor 10:5, NIV).

Διάνοια is the most frequent and significant of compounds formed on this word.[57] It "comes very near in meaning to *nous*, and means, ability to think, faculty of knowledge, understanding, the organ of *noein*; then, mind, and particularly disposition."[58] The NT emphasizes hamartiological complications of man's διάνοια. It is associated with a proud heart (Luke 1:51), inordinate desire (Eph 2:3), spiritual darkness (Eph 4:18[59]), and active hostility (Col 1:21).[60] This also requires a special administration of sovereign grace centering in the benefits of the New Covenant (cf. διάνοια in Heb 8:10; 10:16; and 1 John 5:20).

Two compounds of low frequency, ἔννοια[61] (Heb 4:12 and 1 Pet 4:1) and ἐπίνοια (Acts 8:22), seem to complement the impact of this word family in the NT. The efficacy of the Word of God as "critic" of the ἐνθυμήσεων καὶ ἐννοιῶν καρδίας (Heb 4:12, note the parallelism of v 13), although terrifying,[62] can open a channel of encouragement through dependence on God and his resources.

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[54]For some good commentary and admonitions, see Horace E. Stoessel, "Notes on Romans 12:1–2: The Renewal of the Mind and Internalizing the Truth," *Int* 17 (1963) 161–75.

[55]Notice the force of the present passive infinitive ἀνανοεῦσθαι (i.e., "*keep on undergoing renewal*" in the πνεύματι τοῦ νοὸς ὑμῶν).

[56]Cf. *TDNT*, s.v. "νοέω, κτλ.," by Behm, 4.960; for illustrative apocryphal occurrences, note Bar 2:8 and 3 Macc 5:30.

[57]Profitable background studies involve usages of the verb διανοέομαι in Greek literature and the LXX along with the previously mentioned frequent rendering of לֵב with διάνοια; for a survey, see: *TDNT*, s.v. "νοέω, κτλ.," by Behm and Würthwein, 4.963–67. A survey of its development in the early Christian writings is also noteworthy (1 Clem 35:5; 36:2; 2 Clem 1:6; 19:2); cf. BAGD, 187.

[58]*NIDNTT*, s.v. "νοῦς," by Harder, 3.127.

[59]Kent comments, "The mind of the unconverted man may be filled with many things, and may be highly developed in its intellectual attainments, but spiritually it is wholly unable to apprehend the life of God. Those who are apart from God are in a state of darkness in their spiritual understanding" (Homer A. Kent, Jr., *Ephesians: The Glory of the Church* [Chicago: Moody, 1971] 76–77).

[60]The cognate διανόημα which occurs only in the NT at Luke 11:17 also bears negative freight.

[61]Its frequent LXX usage in Proverbs should be recalled.

[62]For helpful commentary, see: Philip Edgcumbe Hughes, *A Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1977) 166. Lange makes clear the

The φρεν word complex[63]

"The word φρονεῖν is one of those terms which is difficult to render in English because it includes at once *thinking* and *willing*."[64] This recurrent observation, one that applies to the terms surveyed above, points to the "close interrelationship between life and thought" in the Bible.[65] Paul's usage of φρονέω in Philippians is paradigmatic:

> *To think, phronein*, is a favourite expression of Paul in this letter. Its range and depth of meaning can be seen by referring to ii.2 (twice), 5; iii.15 (twice), 16 (in the Received Text), 19; iv.2, 10 (twice). It means (in these verses) much more than a mental exercise, and signifies rather 'sympathetic interest and concern, expressing as it does the action of the heart as well as the intellect' (Michael). It is the outworking of thought as it determines motives, and through motives the conduct of the person involved.[66]

"Paul lays special emphasis on the quality of Christian thinking."[67] Furthermore, his employment of φρονέω clearly reveals that "there can . . . be no such thing as neutral thinking. Man is always aiming at something."[68]

The important compound ταπεινοφροσύνη forms the biblical foundation proper self-estimation (cf. Acts 20:19; Eph 4:2; Phil 2:3; 1 Pet 5:5):

> In class. Gr. ταπεινός usually implies meanness of condition; lowness of rank; abjectness. At best the classical conception is only modesty, absence of assumption, an element of worldly wisdom, and in no sense opposed to self-righteousness. The word ταπεινοφροσύνη is an outgrowth of the gospel. It does not appear before the Christian era. The virtue itself conjoined with a sense of sinfulness. It regards man not only with reference to God, but also with reference to his fellow-men.[69]

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semantic connection of the LXX renderings of the key words in Gen 6:5 (John Peter Lange, *Genesis*, trnas. and ed. by Philip Schaff, in *Commentary on the Holy Scriptures* [reprint; Grand Rapids: Zondervan, n.d.], 287).

[63] Cf. the root φρεν in Metzger, *Lexical Aids*, 70; cf. *TDNT*, s.v. "φρήν, κτλ.," by Georg Bertram, 9.220. For classification of the family, see Stegenga, *Greek-English Concordance*, 800–803.

[64] F. Godet, *Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans* (vol. 2, trans. by A. Cusin; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1892) 70.

[65] *NIDNTT*, s.v. "φρόνησις," by J. Goetzmann, 2.617.

[66] Ralph P. Martin, *The Epistle of Paul to the Philippians* (TynNTC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1959) 62.

[67] Donald Guthrie, *New Testament Theology* (Downers Grove, IL: Inter-Varsity, 1981) 668.

[68] *NIDNTT*, s.v. "φρόνησις," by Goetzmann, 2.617.

[69] Marvin R. Vincent, *The Epistles to the Philippians and to Philemon* (ICC; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1903) 56.

Ταπεινοφροσύνη and σωφρονεῖν (Rom 12:3) stand diametrically
opposed to ὑπερφρονεῖν (again Rom 12:3) and to "the well-known
Greek expressions ὑψηλοφρονεῖν, μεγαφρονεῖν, *to aim high, to have
a high self-regard.*"[70] The self-estimation of the classical Greeks—and
of contemporary man—becomes particularly repugnant in the light of
Christ's example (Phil 2:6–8). This great Christological passage but-
tresses Paul's major admonition (cf. 1:27–2:5): "They are . . . to mould
their ways ot thinking according to the pattern of Christ's mind (Phil
2:5)."[71]

The noun φρόνημα, based on one of the primary semantic spheres
φρονέω ("to set one's mind on, be intent on"), denotes a way of
thinking or mind-set.[72] Although it occurs only in Romans 8 (vv 6, 7,
27) in the NT, it is a strategic term since it puts special emphasis on
aspiration and aim.[73]

The λεγ- word complex[74]

The verb λογίζομαι ("to reckon") was used extensively in the
LXX to render חָשַׁב. Consequently, its earlier nuances expanded to
include the concepts of devising and volitional planning.[75] In this
biblical framework an ethical trend was established. Λογίζομαι and
λογισμός in the LXX generally are used to translate words which
imply the devising of evil.[76] This spilled over into the NT (cf. λογισ-
μός 2 Cor 10:4–5).[77]

Διαλογίζομαι and διαλοισμός are even more significant for NT
theology. These two compounds also have important roots in the
LXX. The Greek verb is found rendering such Hebrew roots as חשׁב
and אמם ("to consider, purpose, devise"), and the noun corresponds

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[70]Godet, *Romans*, 2.70; cf. ὑψηλοφρονέω in Rom 11:20 and 1 Tim 6:17.

[71]Guthrie, *New Testament Theology*, 667.

[72]Cf. BAGD, 866.

[73]Ibid.; 2 Macc 13:9 in its context is illustrative of this significance since it speaks
of a king with a "barbarous" φρονήμασιν.

[74]Cf. root λεγ- in Metzger, *Lexical Aids*, 62. The root γνο- (ibid., 52–53) will not
be surveyed here; however, it should be pointed out that the word γνώμη in contexts
meaning "purpose," "intention," or "mind" (cf. Rev. 17:13, 17) became a very impor-
tant term in the first and second centuries (BAGD, 163). Worthy of special mention are
the idioms ἡ εἰς θεὸν γνώμη (the mind directed toward God) and ἡ ἐν θεῷ γνώμη (the
mind fixed in God) in Ignatius' writings.

[75]For discussion, see *TDNT*, s.v. "λογίζομαι, λογισμός," by H. W. Heidland,
4.284.

[76]Ibid., 285. For a contrasting positive example of λογίζομαι in the NT see Phil
4:8. However, the usage of φρονέω throughout the epistle probably colored λογίζομαι
here.

[77]Ibid.; note the discussion on pp. 286–88.

to מַחֲשָׁבָה ("thought, device; plan, purpose"), רֵעַ ("purpose, aim"), רַעְיוֹן ("longing, striving"), מְזִמָּה ("purpose, direction, device"), etc.[78] However, it is the NT which places the capstone on this evidence, since διαλογίζομαι[79] and διαλογισμός[80] "are always used with a slightly depreciatory connotation."[81] Schrenk rightly concludes, "This shows how strong is the conviction that the sinful nature of man extends to his thinking and indeed to his very heart."[82]

A Summary of the Noetic Consequences

Noetic Depravity

Sin issues from the human heart.[83] Man's spiritual heart disease has already become obvious through the survey of לֵב/καρδία. Mankind is proud in heart,[84] stubborn in heart,[85] hard in heart,[86] perverse in heart,[87] and evil in heart.[88] Two passages adequately summarize man's noetic depravity.

Genesis 6:5 (cf. 8:21)

Of all the passages in which לֵב is associated with חָשַׁב or מַחֲשָׁבָה in a negative sense,[89] Gen 6:5 is especially critical:[90] "Then the Lord saw that the wickedness [רָעָה] of man was great on the earth,[91] and

[78] NIDNTT, s.v. "διαλογίζομαι," by D. Fürst, 3.820–21.

[79] Mark 2:6, 8; Luke 5:22; 12:17; etc.

[80] Matt 15:19 (Mark 7:21); Luke 5:22; 6:8; 9:47; Rom 1:21; 1 Cor 3:20 (cf. Ps 94:11); etc.

[81] NIDNTT, s.v. "διαλογίζομαι," by Fürst, 3.820.

[82] TDNT, s.v. "διαλέγομαι, διαλογίζομαι, διαλογισμός," by Gottlob Schrenk, 2.97.

[83] Note the implication of the important maxim of Prov 4:23.

[84] לֵב + נָשָׂא in 2 Kgs 14:10 (2 Chr 25:19); לֵב + זָדוֹן in Jer 49:16; לֵב + גֹּבַהּ in Prov 16:5 (cf. Ezek 28:2, 17); root רוּם + לֵב in Deut 8:14; 17:20; Ezek 31:10; Dan 5:20, 22; Hos 13:6; etc.

[85] Ps 81:13 (note the parallel with Rom 1:24, 26, 28); the root שרר + לֵב in Jer 3:17 (רַע +); 7:24 (רַע +); 9:13; 11:8 (רַע +); 18:12 (רַע +); 23:17.

[86] σκληροκαρδία in LXX and in Matt 19:8 (Mark 10:5); Rom 2:5.

[87] לֵב + עִקֵּשׁ in Ps 101:4; Prov 11:20; 17:20.

[88] Deut 15:9; Num 15:39; Pss 83:6; 95:10; Prov 24:2; Eccl 8:11; Isa 32:6; 59:13; Matt 9:4; etc.

[89] Some important references which have not yet been mentioned are: Ps 140:3 (לֵב + בְּ + רָעָה + חָשַׁב; cf. LXX: λογίζομαι + ἀδικία + ἐν + καρδία); Prov 6:18 (אָוֶן + מַחֲשָׁבָה + חָרַשׁ + לֵב) [cf. v. 14]; Isa 10:7 (חָשַׁב + לֵבָב); Ezek 38:10 (חָשַׁב + רָעָה + מַחֲשָׁבָה) [dependent upon previous assertion about לֵבָב]; Zech 7:10 (חָשַׁב + אַל + לֵבָב; cf. LXX: μὴ + λογίζομαι + ἐν + καρδία) [cf. 8:17].

[90] On the immediate context with its emphasis on "the degeneration of man," see John J. Davis, Paradise to Prison: Studies in Genesis (Winona Lake, IN: BMH, 1975) 109–15.

[91] For some pertinent observations, see U. Cassuto, A Commentary on the Book of Genesis (trans. by Israel Abrahams; Jerusalem: Magnes, 1961) 1.301.

that every intent of the thoughts of his heart was only evil continu-
ally." The subject of the Lord's evaluation in the second part of the כִּי
clause is כָּל־יֵצֶר מַחֲשָׁבָת לִבּוֹ.[92] It should be noted that the genitive
chain terminates with לֵב; consequently, *it* is the *source* of the מַחֲשָׁבֹה.
Furthermore, it is the formulation [יֵצֶר] of the thoughts[93] which falls
under divine scrutiny.

Every word in the predicate is crucial: רַק רַע כָּל־הַיּוֹם. Man's
noetic activity is viewed as רַע ("ethically bad, wicked, evil").[94] Two
adverbial modifiers magnify this noetic perversity: the רַק speaks of
exclusivity[95] and the idiom כָּל־הַיּוֹם of *continuity*.[96] Lange comments
emphatically, "Only evil, nothing but evil, *all they day*—every day,
and every moment of every day. If this is not *total depravity*, how can
language express it?"[97] Vriezen corroborates this opinion when he
says,

> A more emphatic statement of the wickedness of the human heart is
> hardly conceivable. This is emphasized once more because in viii.21 the
> same judgment is pronounced on humanity after the Flood; indeed, in
> ix.18ff. and xi.1ff. both Noah and his descendants prove to be wicked.[98]

Mark 7:20–23 (cf. Matthew 15:10–20)

The context of this passage centers in the issue of the "source of
true defilement (vv. 14–23)."[99] Jesus' analysis of the condition of the
human heart is incisive: "That which proceeds out of the man, that is
what defiles the man. For from within [ἔσωθεν[100]], out of the heart of
men [ἐκ τῆς καρδίας τῶν ἀνθρώπων], proceed the evil thoughts [οἱ

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[92]The καὶ πᾶς τις διανοεῖται ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ of the LXX is somewhat para-
phrastic (however, cf. its use of διάνοια in Gen 8:21). These usages construct significant
bridges to the NT (see discussion above).

[93]Skinner renders the whole construct chain "*the whole bent of the thoughts of his
heart*" (John Skinner, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Genesis* [ICC; New
York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1917] 150).

[94]BDB, 948.

[95]Ibid., 956.

[96]Ibid., 400.

[97]Lange, *Genesis*, 287.

[98]Vriezen, *Outline of OT Theology*, 210.

[99]D. Edmond Hiebert, *Mark: A Portrait of the Servant* (Chicago: Moody, 1974)
178. Heibert notes that "the controversy concerning the tradition of the elders had
raised the deeper question of the nature and source of true defilement. It was a matter
of fundamental importance, and Jesus did not leave the question untouched. Verse 15
gives His concise, somewhat enigmatical statement of the basic principle, while verses
17–23 give His full statement to the disciples" (ibid.).

[100]Contrast with the ἔξωθεν of v 15.

διαλογισμοὶ οἱ κακοί[101]], and fornications, thefts, murders, adulteries, deeds of coveting and wickedness, as well as deceit, sensuality, envy, slander, pride and foolishness. All these evil things proceed from within and defile the man."[102] According to Jesus and scriptural precedent the fountainhead of all perverted behavior is the fallen human heart. Guthrie captures the significance of Jesus' analysis when he asserts that "the sanctifying process is concerned primarily with attitudes of mind rather than actions. This is supplemented by the view that right action will follow from right thought."[103]

Noetic Apostasy

Several verbs combine with לֵב to convey noetic direction.[104] Here only the occurrences of these idiomatic combinations in negative contexts will be considered; positive occurrences will be dealt with subsequently.

שִׂים/לֵב

The combination of לֵב plus the verb שִׂים bears the meanings of "set the mind, consider,"[105] and with the prepositions אֶל, -לְ, or עַל, it denotes "laying to heart" or "paying heed to."[106] Mind-orientation is prominent, with an emphasis upon diligent attention and deep consideration. For example, it says of the recalcitrant Egyptian that he "paid no regard (לֹא + שִׂים + לֵב; cf. LXX: μὴ + προσέχω + dative of διάνοια) to the word of the Lord" (Exod 9:21). A warning against preoccupation with wrong things is found in the words "do not set your mind (אַל + שִׂים + לֵב; cf. LXX: μὴ + τίθημι + καρδία) on them" (1 Sam 9:20).[107] There are many prophetic admonitions and judgments pertaining to diligent attention or the lack of it.[108] Noetic apostasy is

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[101]See the previous survey on διαλογίζομαι and διαλογισμός and see also: William Hendriksen, *Exposition of the Gospel according to Mark* (NTC; Grand Rapids: Baker, 1975) 286.

[102]For some good commentary, see ibid., 269–90.

[103]Guthrie, *NT Theology*, 662.

[104]Only the most explicit combinations relating to the concept of mind-set will be surveyed; לֵב with general expressions for apostasy (e.g., הָלַךְ + לֵב + הָלַךְ or אַחַר + הָלַךְ, cf. Ezek 11:21; 20:16; 33:31; מִן + רָחֹק + לֵב, cf. Isa 29:13; etc.) will not be treated.

[105]BDB, 523; e.g., Isa 41:22; Hag 2:15, 18.

[106]KB, 2.920; e.g., Job 1:8 (+ עַל); 2:3 (+ אֶל); etc.

[107]See לֵב + שִׂים + לֹא/אֶל in 1 Sam 25:25; 2 Sam 13:33; 18:3; etc. for not giving serious consideration of something.

[108]See "he paid no attention" (לֵב + עַל + שִׂים + לֹא) in Isa 42:25, "these things you did not consider" (לֵב + עַל + שִׂים + לֹא) in 47:7, "consider your ways" (+ שִׂים + לֵב + אֶל + דֶּרֶךְ) in Hag 1:5, 7 (note that the LXX employs τάσσω in v 5 and τίθημι in v 7); Mal 2:2 (לֵב + עַל + שִׂים + לֹא); etc.

especially obvious in Jeremiah's lament: "The whole land has been made desolate, because no man lays it to heart" (Jer 12:11). His words are concise but explicit: אִישׁ שָׂם עַל־לֵב כִּי אֵין.[109] An apostate mind-set is mankind's point of embarkation on a journey of woe.[110]

שׂית/לֵב

The combination of לֵב plus שׂית is semantically related.[111] It also speaks of paying attention to someone or something.[112] Consequently, there are warnings against the ever-present danger of apostasy in mind-set: "Do not trust in oppression, and do not vainly hope in robbery; if riches increase, do not set your heart (אַל + שׂית + לֵב; cf. LXX: μὴ + προτίθημι + καρδία upon them" (Ps 62:11).[113]

סוּר/לֵב

לֵב in association with the verb סוּר[114] constitutes an important category. Jer 17:5[115] is hamartiologically normative: "Thus says the Lord, 'Cursed is the man who trusts in mankind and makes flesh his strength, and whose heart turns away from (לֵב + סוּר + מִן; cf. LXX: καρδία + ἀφίστημι + ἀπό) the Lord." Consequently, there are warnings concerning apostasy from the Covenant: "Only give heed to yourself and keep your soul diligently, lest you forget the things which your eyes have seen, and lest they depart from you heart (סוּר + מִן + לֵבָב) all the days of your life; but make them known to your sons and your grandsons" (Deut 4:9). Moses relays the following challenge concerning the future king: "Moreover, he shall not multiply horses for himself, nor shall he cause the people to return to Egypt to multiply horses . . . neither shall he multiply wives for himself, lest his heart turn away (סוּר + לְבָב); nor shall he greatly increase silver and gold for himself" (Deut 17:16–17).

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[109]LXX: ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἀνὴρ τιθέμενος ἐν καρδίᾳ.

[110]Zechariah's testimony corroborates: "And they made their hearts like flint [לֵב + שָׂמוּ + שָׁמִיר; LXX: καὶ τὴν καρδίαν αὐτῶν ἔταξαν ἀπειθῆ] so that they could not hear the law and the words which the Lord of hosts had sent by His Spirit through the former prophets; therefore great wrath came from the Lord of hosts" (Zech 7:12).

[111]BDB, 1011.

[112]1 Sam 4:20 (לֵב + שׂית + אַל); 2 Sam 13:20 (לֵב + שׂית + אַל); Job 7:17 (שׂית + אַל + לֵב); Ps 48:14; etc.

[113]This OT background on one's mind-set greatly enlightens Jesus' warnings in Matt 6:19–21; Luke 12:34; etc.

[114]BDB, 693–94.

[115]Cf. the parallelism of Jer 5:23: "But this people has a stubborn and rebellious heart (לֵב סוֹרֵר וּמוֹרֶה); they have turned aside (סָרוּ) and departed."

פָּנָה/לֵב

The combination of לֵב and פָּנָה conceptually parallels לֵב plus סוּר.[116] Climaxing the covenant stipulations is a summary challenge (Deut 30:15–16) which is followed by the warning which introduces an ultimate curse: "But if your heart turns away (פָּנָה + לְבָב[117]) and you will not obey, but are drawn away and worship other gods and serve them . . ." (Deut 30:17). An apostate mind-set would ultimately lead to the gravest consequence of all (Deut 30:18).

נָטָה/לֵב

Another important combination is that of לֵב plus נָטָה.[118] For example, spiritual insensitivity culminating in idolatry is related to this type of noetic apostasy in Isa 44:20[119] where it asserts that "a deceived heart has turned him aside" (לֵב + תָּלַל + נָטָה). Covenant violation is also conveyed by this idiomatic combination of לֵב and נָטָה in 1 Kgs 11:2, 4, and 9. The importance of this group[120] as a primary designation for the concept of mind-set will become increasingly obvious.

כּוּן/לֵב

Finally, the collocation of לֵב and כּוּן[121] needs to be viewed in its negative contexts. Ps 78:8 reads, "And be not like their fathers, a stubborn and rebellious[122] generation, a generation that did not prepare its heart (לֹא + הֵכִין + לֵב), and whose spirit was not faithful to God." The concept of a targeted mind-set intensifies when the combination is complemented by the preposition –לְ, the preposition עִם, or the infinitive. In 2 Chr 20:33 a blight on Jehoshaphat's reforms is noted by the words: "The high places, however, were not removed; the people had not yet directed their hearts to (לֹא + הֵכִין + לֵבָב + לְ–) the God of their fathers." The following condemnation occurs in Ps 78:37: "For their heart was not steadfast toward (לֵב + לֹא + נָכוּן + עִם) Him, nor were they faithful in His covenant." 2 Chr 12:14, speaking of King Rehoboam, is quite explicit: "And he did evil because he did not set his heart to seek (לֹא + הֵכִין + לֵב + לִדְרוֹשׁ) the Lord." This indeed paints a very vivid picture of noetic apostasy.

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[116]BDB, 815.

[117]Cf. Deut 29:17.

[118]BDB, 640; notice that the LXX almost always uses simple and compounded forms of κλίνω for thus usage sphere of נָטָה.

[119]Cf. the immediate context.

[120]Cf. the related verb שָׂטָה plus לֵב in Prov 7:25.

[121]BDB, 465–67.

[122]It should be noted that this descriptive couplet occasionally occurs with לֵב.

THE NOETIC REMEDY

Sovereign Grace

Ultimately only the Great Physician can remedy the noetic condition of man's heart. Since the Scriptures plainly bear witness to this fact, his efficacy in salvation and sanctification is incontestable.

The Heart-Knower

Although "the inward thought and the heart of a man are deep" (עָמֹק),[123] God as *the* heart-knower[124] opens up the possibility for a remedy: "The heart is more deceitful than all else [עָקֹב הַלֵּב מִכֹּל[125]] and is desperately sick [וְאָנֻשׁ[126]]; who can understand it? I the Lord search the heart [לֵב + חָקַר[127]], I test [בָּחַן[128]] the mind, even to give to each man according to his ways, according to the results of his deeds" (Jer 17:9–10). The NT testifies to the significance of God as the heart-knower by its use of the term καρδιαγνώστης.[129] "It describes God as the knower of hearts. . . . God sees, tests and searches the hidden depths of the human heart."[130] In Acts 1:24 the apostles prefaced their prayer for divine direction concerning the choice of a man to complement their number with the words, "Thou, Lord, knowest the hearts of all men" (καρδιαγνῶστα πάντων). The idiom ὁ καρδιογνῶστης θεός (Acts 15:8) exemplifies the theological significance and implications of God in this role. He has unique insight into the mind-set of mankind.

The Heart-Transplanter

The Lord is conspicuously involved both in repentance and the sustained mind-set which is essential for sanctification. In the context

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[123] Ps 64:7; cf. "a plan in the heart of a man is like deep water" in Prov 20:5. On the root עמק (here: "deep, unfathomable, unsearchable") see BDB, 770–71.

[124] See לֵב plus יָדַע with God as the subject in 1 Kgs 8:39 ("Thou alone dost know the hearts of all the sons of men"); Pss 44:22; 139:23; etc.; cf. γινώσκω in Luke 16:15; etc.

[125] I.e., more insidious; cf. the root עקב ("to deal treacherously"): BDB, 784; *TWOT*, s.v. "עָקַב," by J. Barton Payne, 2.692; etc.

[126] I.e., "weak, puny"; cf. the related substantive אֱנוֹשׁ and the obvious irony in comparison with the arrogant גֶּבֶר of v 5. For a survey of the root, see *TDOT*, s.v. "אֱנוֹשׁ," by Fritz Maass, 1.345–46.

[127] BDB, 350; cf. the concept in Rev 2:23.

[128] BDB, 103; on לֵב plus בָּחַן, see "Thou triest the heart" in 1 Chr 29:17 (note the important complement of v 18); Ps 26:2; and Jer 12:3.

[129] It is absent from secular Greek and the LXX; however, its use in the NT and the patristic writings is noteworthy. For a brief survey, see *TDNT*, s.v. "καρδία, καρδιογνῶστης, σκληροκαρδία," by Behm, 3.613.

[130] *NIDNTT*, s.v. "καρδία," by Sorg, 2.183.

of repentance and conversion, the combination of לֵב plus נָתַן with
God as subject is dramatically explicit:[131] "I will give them a heart to
know me" (Jer 24:7); "I will put the fear of Me in their hearts so that
they will not turn away from Me" (Jer 32:40); "I will give you a new
heart and put a new spirit within you" (Ezek 36:26).[132] Equally explicit
is the NT evidence: "Well then, God has granted to the gentiles also
the repentance [μετάνοια] that leads to life" (Acts 11:18).[133]

God specializes in bending man's perverted noetic inclinations. A
general statement is found in Prov 21:1: "The king's heart is like
channels of water in the hand of the Lord; He turns [נָטָה] it [suffix =
antecedent לֵב] wherever He wishes." Confirmation is found in Ezra
6:22: "The Lord had caused them to rejoice, and had turned the heart
[סָבַב + לֵב] of the king of Assyria toward them to encourage them in
the work of the house of God, the God of Israel."[134]

A sustained mind-set for positive direction in life is also attributed
to divine intervention. Nehemiah spoke of "what my God was putting
into my mind to do [infinitive + לֵב + אֶל + נָתַן] for Jerusalem" (Neh
2:12). The most significant evidence for this phenomenon comes from
the grouping of לֵב plus נָטָה with God as subject: "Incline my heart to
[אֶל + לֵב + הַט; cf. LXX: κλίνω + καρδία + εἰς] Thy testimonies"
(Ps 119:36);[135] Do not incline my heart to [-לְ + לֵב + תַּט + אַל; cf.
LXX: μή + ἐκκλίνω + καρδία + εἰς] any evil thing" (Ps 141:4); etc.
1 Kgs 8:57–58 conveys Solomon's insight into this important truth:
"May the Lord our God be with us, as He was with our fathers; may
He not leave us or forsake us, that He may incline our hearts to
Himself, to walk in all His ways and to keep His commandments and
His statutes and His ordinances, which He commanded our fathers."
The theological significance of the hiphil infinitive of נָטָה with לְבָב as
its object, plus the directional אֶל with God as its personal object,
along with the telic infinitives[136] is clear; God needs to bend the mind-
set of his people to himself so that they may live obediently.

Human Responsibility

Notwithstanding the previous evidence, man remains responsible.
The Scriptures show that he bears a responsibility in connection with

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[131]Cf. סָבַב + לֵב in 1 Kgs 18:37: "Thou has turned their heart (חֵסַב + לֵב) back
again"; and note the sovereign providence concerning the ministry of the forerunner in
Mal 3:24 (Luke 1:17): "he will restore the hearts (שׁוּב + לֵב) of the fathers."

[132]Also call to mind the theological significance of Jer 31:33: "I will put My law
within them [קֶרֶב + בְּ + נָתַן], and on their heart I will write it [לֵב + עַל + כָּתַב]; and I
will be their God, and they shall be My people." Note the interesting inversion of the
noetic referents of καρδία and διάνοια in Heb 8:10 and 10:16.

[133]Cf. μετάνοια and Divine initiative in Rom 2:4 and 2 Tim 2:25.

[134]Cf. לֵב + בְּ + נָתַן in Ezra 7:27, and an illustration in Gen 20:3–6.

[135]Cf. the same combination in reference to human responsibility in v 112.

[136]LXX: ἐπικλῖναι καρδίας ἡμῶν πρὸς αὐτὸν τοῦ πορεύεσθαι . . . καὶ φλάσσειν.

both repentance and sanctification. For this reason the following considerations are paramount.

Initial Responsibility

An initial change in noetic orientation is a soteriological prerequisite.[137] This is most commonly conveyed in the OT by the association of לֵב with שׁוּב.[138] For example, the Lord speaks through Joel in the following manner, "'Return to Me with all your heart [+ שׁוּב עַד + בְּ + כֹּל + לֵבָב], and with fasting, weeping, and mourning; and rend your heart and not your garments.' Now return to [שׁוּב + אֶל] the Lord your God, for He is gracious and compassionate, slow to anger, abounding in lovingkindness, and relenting of evil" (Joel 2:12–13). This change of direction is related to remembrance and meaningful contemplation in the context of the covenant promises and responsibilities: "So it shall become when all of these things have come upon you, the blessing and the curse which I have set before you, and you call them to mind [שׁוּב + אֶל + לֵבָב] in all nations where the Lord your God has banished you, and you return to [שׁוּב + עַד] the Lord your God and obey Him with all your heart and soul . . . then . . . ." Deut 30:1–3).[139]

Initial noetic redirection in the NT is usually conveyed by μετάνοέω and μετάνοια:[140] "Repent [μετανοέω], for the kingdom of heaven is at hand. . . . Therefore bring forth fruit in keeping with your repentance [μετάνοια]" (Matt 3:2, 8).[141] That this radical reorientation of fallen man's mental faculties is soteriologically foundational is verified by Christ's commission (cf. Luke 24:47) and apostolic practice (cf. Acts 2:28; 3:19; 8:22; 17:30; 26:20).[142]

Subsequent Responsibility

Prior to some specific illustrations of the priority of the believer's mind-set as a key to godly living it is necessary to reemphasize the

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[137] Fallen man is characteristically impenitent (e.g., ἀμετανόητος in Rom 2:5).

[138] Jacob stresses that "the movement towards God שׁוּב, which the prophets continually ask from the human will, also begins in the heart, Jer 3:10; 29:13; etc." (*TDNT*, s.v. "ψυχή, κτλ.," by Edmond Jacob, *et al.*, 9.628). See also *TDNT*, s.v. "Repentance and Conversion in the OT," by Würthwein, 4.980–89.

[139] Cf. שׁוּב + לֵב in Deut 4:39; Isa 44:19; 46:8; and the prevalent ἐπιστρέφω/καρδία renderings of the LXX along with the explanatory μετανοήσατε in Isa 46:8.

[140] For a survey which also stresses some of the conceptual intertestamental connections, see *NIDNTT*, s.v. "μετάνοια," by J. Goetzmann, 1.357–59; and on the possible etymological development ("change of mind"), see *TDNT*, s.v. "νοέω, κτλ.," by Behm, 4.976–77.

[141] Cf. Jesus' identical challenge in Matt 4:17.

[142] Also note the priority of rectifying a straying mind-set in Rev 2:5; 3:3, 19; etc.

footing which undergirds all of these—ταπεινοφροσύνη. Without a proper thinking about oneself in the light of what the Scriptures say about man and sin and without a constant dependence upon God and his resources there will be no positive noetic inclination resulting in a life characterized by obedience.

Individual Responsibility

It will be advantageous to follow some of the semantic collocations previously discussed along with one additional group (לֵב + נָתַן).

שִׂים/לֵב. This combination is especially suitable for conveying volition and determination. For example, Elihu says of God, "If He should determine to do so [אִם־יָשִׂים אֵלָיו לִבּוֹ], . . . all flesh would perish together . . ." (Job 34:14–15). Man's positive response must begin with a serious contemplation of his responsibilities before the Lord,[143] since God demands his undivided attention.[144] Following this should come the mind-set of which Daniel is a prime example: "But Daniel made up his mind [שִׂים + עַל + לֵב; cf. LXX, Theodotion: καὶ ἔθετο Δανιηλ ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν αὐτοῦ] that he would not defile himself . . . (Dan 1:8).

נָטָה/לֵב. Total preoccupation with God and his interests lies at the heart of the positive occurrences of this combination. Joshua challenged the people to "put away the foreign gods which are in your midst, and incline your hearts to [נָטָה + לֵבָב + אֶל] the Lord, the God of Israel" (Josh 24:23). This preoccupation should manifest itself in an ethically productive mind-set: "I have inclined my heart to perform [infinitive + לֵב + נָטָה][145] Thy statues forever, even to the end" (Ps 119:112).

כּוּן/לֵב. The hiphil of כּוּן with לֵב as object followed by the infinitive is one of the clearest descriptions of a targeted mind-set in the OT.[146] Two contexts should provide positive examples for emulation. The chronicler says of Jehoshaphat, "But there is some good in you, for you have removed the Asheroth from the land and you have set your heart to seek [infinitive + לֵבָב + כּוּן] God" (2 Chr 19:3). Ezra's

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[143]See שִׂים with לֵב in Deut 11:18; 32:46; Job 22:22; etc. Cf. the combination of שִׁית and לֵב in Prov 22:17; 24:32; Jer 31:21; etc.

[144]Cf. the illustrative challenge of the divinely sent messenger to Ezekiel: "Son of man, see with your eyes, hear with your ears, and give attention to (וְשִׂים לִבְּךָ) all that I am going to show you" (Ezek 40:4).

[145]Cf. the expected rendering of ἔκλινα τὴν καρδίαν μοῦ τοῦ ποιῆσαι in the LXX, and remember the psalmist's testimony of Divine enablement in v 36.

[146]Cf. Eccl 1:13, 17; 8:9, 16; etc., where theis root with לֵב connotes intense investigation.

example is particularly appropriate, since he was a leader *par excellence* among his people. Divine (and human) favor were largely attributed to the fact that "Ezra had set his heart to study the law of the Lord, and to practice it, and to teach His statutes and ordinances in Israel" (Ezra 7:10). His mind-set (הֵכִין + לֵבָב) was zeroed in on the primary intentions of studying (לִדְרוֹשׁ), obeying (וְלַעֲשׂת), and expounding (וּלְלַמֵּד) God's Word.

נָתַן/לֵב. The significance of this combination parallels that of כּוּן plus לֵב. This semantic grouping describes diligence. David commanded the leaders of Israel as follows: "Now set your heart and your soul to [infinitive + נֶפֶשׁ + לֵבָב + נָתַן] seek the Lord your God; arise, therefore, and build the sanctuary of the Lord God . . ." (1 Chr 22:19).[147] Once again, Daniel exemplifies this precious key to godly living: "'O Daniel, man of high esteem, understand the words that I am about to tell you and stand upright, for I have now been sent to you.' And when he had spoken this word to me, I stood up trembling. Then he said to me, 'Do not be afraid, Daniel, for from the first day that you set your heart [נָתַן + לֵב] on understanding this [hiphil infinitive of בִּין] and humbling youself [hithpael infinitive of עָנָה] before your God, your words were heard, and I have come in response to your words'" (Dan 10:11–12). Daniel's humble and heavenly mind-set explained the consistency of his godly life.

The previous discussion of the φρεν word-complex (see above) introduced its strategic contribution to the biblical teaching on the priority of the believer's mind-set. Our Lord's piercing rebuke of Peter highlights the importance of noetic orientation: "Get behind Me, Satan! You are a stumbling-block to Me; for you are not setting your mind on [φρονέω] God's interests, but man's" (Matt 16:23). The target of one's thinking and preoccupation becomes the primary issue, as illustrated by the sharp antithesis (ἀλλά) between τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ and τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων. The barometer of anthropocentricity versus theocentricity is the believer's mind-set.

Colossians 3 deals with the indicative and the imperative of the Christian life.[148] Vv 1–4 are both introductory and foundational:

> If this be so [first-class conditional statement]; if ye were raised with Christ, if ye were translated into heaven, what follows? Why you must realise the change. All your aims must centre in heaven [τὰ ἄνω], where reigns the Christ who has thus exalted you, enthroned on God's right hand. All your thoughts must abide in heaven [τὰ ἄνω φρονεῖτε], not

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[147] Cf. נָתַן + לֵב in 2 Chr 11:16.

[148] For a helpful refresher on this, see C. F. D. Moule, "'The New Life' in Colossians 3:1–17," *RevExp* 70 (1973) 481–93.

on the earth [μὴ τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς]. For, I say it once again, you have nothing to do with mundane things: you *died*, died once for all to the world: you are living another life. This life indeed is hidden now: it has no outward splendour as men count splendour; for it is a life with Christ, a life in God. But the veil will not always shroud it. Christ, our life, shall be manifested hereafter; then ye also shall be manifested with Him and the world shall see your glory.[149]

The parallelism and force of the present imperatives of vv 1 and 2 is especially germane to the subject at hand.[150] "'Be constantly seeking' [ζητεῖτε, v 1] . . . implies perservering effort" and "is a seeking *to obtain* (cf. Matt 6:33; 13:45). The emphasis, though, is not on seeking but on the object sought."[151] Complementing this is the φρονεῖτε which stresses the believer's "whole bent of . . . life."[152] He is continually to target his mind-set on the things of God.

Probably the most definitive teaching on the obligations pertaining to the believer's mind-set resides in Romans 8. Mickelsen appropriately entitles Rom 8:5–13 "the mind-set of the flesh versus that of the Spirit."[153]

Some salient observations will lead to a proper synthesis of the theological significance of this passage. Käsemann notes concerning φρονέω (v 5) and φρόνημα (vv 6, 7) that "the slogan φρονεῖν denotes the direction not merely of thought but of total existence, which on the Semitic view is always oriented consciously or uncousciously to a goal."[154] Σάρξ in this passage is viewed in its fully developed hamartiological sense: "our fallen, ego-centric human nature and all that belongs to it."[155] Consequently, τὸ φρόνημα τῆς σαρκός refers to

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[149]Lightfoot's interpretive paraphrase (J. B. Lightfoot, *Saint Paul's Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon* [reprint; Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1971] 208).

[150]For some valuable commentary, see S. Lewis Johnson, Jr., "IX. Studies in the Epistle to the Colossians: Human Taboos and Divine Redemption," *BSac* 120 (1963) 211–13.

[151]William Hendriksen, *Exposition of Colossians and Philemon* (NTC; Grand Rapids: Baker, 1964) 140.

[152]Johnson, "Human Taboos and Divine Redemption," 212.

[153]A. Berkeley Mickelsen, "Romans," in *The Wycliffe Bible Commentary*, ed. by Charles F. Pfeiffer and Everette F. Harrison (Nashville: Southwestern Company, 1962) 1206. He comments there that "the flesh—the principle of rebellion within man— produces a certain pattern and way of thinking" (ibid.).

[154]Ernst Käsemann, *Commentary on Romans*, trans. and ed. by Geoffrey W. Bromiley (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980) 219.

[155]C. E. B. Cranfield, *The Epistle to the Romans* (ICC; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark Ltd., 1975) 1.372; cf. 386–87. Similarly: "*Flesh* is . . . the whole nature of man, turned away from God, in the supreme interest of self, devoted to the creature" (John Peter Lang, *The Epistle of Paul to the Romans*, trans. by Philip Schaff, *Commentary on the Holy Scriptures*, ed. by J. P. Lange [Grand Rapids: Zondervan, n.d.] 236).

"the flesh's (i.e., fallen human nature's) mind, that is, its outlook, assumptions, values, desires and purposes."[156]

Contrastingly, πνεῦμα "refers to the Holy Spirit throughout the passage, as is evident in verse 9 ('the Spirit of God . . . the Spirit of Christ') and 11 ('The Spirit of him who raised Jesus . . . his Spirit dwells in you')."[157] Herein, he is viewed as "operative in the human spirit for the production of ethical results."[158] This is particularly evident in the phrase τὸ φρόνημα τοῦ πνεύματος.[159] In the light of this, note Cranfield's summary of the mind-set antithesis of v 5:

> We take Paul's meaning in this verse then to be that those who allow the direction of their lives to be determined by the flesh are actually taking the flesh's side in the conflict between the Spirit of God and the flesh, while those who allow the Spirit to determine the direction of their lives are taking the Spirit's side.[160]

The whole mind-set argument (cf. the γάρ introducing vv 5–11) provides "an explanation of the reference in v 4 to walking not κατὰ σάρκα but κατὰ πνεῦμα"[161] which is the essence of the Christian life.

> The law's requirement will be fulfilled by the determination of the direction, the set, of our lives by the Spirit, by our being enabled again and again to decide for the Spirit and against the flesh, to turn our backs more and more upon our own insatiable egotism and to turn our faces more and more toward the freedom which the Spirit of God has given us.[162]

Goetzmann concludes,

> This passage makes it abundantly clear that the way one thinks is intimately related to the way one lives, . . . A man's thinking and striving cannot be seen in isolation from the overall direction of his life; the latter will be reflected in the aims which he sets for himself.[163]

Indeed, the proper aiming of the mind is a key to godly living.

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[156]Cranfield, *Romans*, 1.386.

[157]Robert H. Gundry, *Sōma in Biblical Theology with Emphasis on Pauline Anthropology* (SNTSMS 29; Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1976) 46; cf. Cranfield, *Romans*, 1.390.

[158]Barton, *Spirit, Soul, and Flesh*, 180.

[159]Cranfield is correct: "the genitives τῆς σαρκός and τοῦ πνεύματος are subjective" (*Romans*, 1.386).

[160]Cranfield, *Romans*, 1.386.

[161]Ibid., 385.

[162]Ibid.

[163]*NIDNTT*, s.v. "φρόνησις," by Goetzmann, 2.617.

Corporate Responsibility

A word also needs to be said about the corporate dimension of noetic direction. The verb νουθετέω and its corresponding noun νουθεσία, "derived from *nous* (mind) and *tithemi* (put) . . . describe the exertion of influence upon the *nous*, implying that there is resistance. By means of admonition, advice, warning, reminding, teaching and spurring on, a person can be redirected from wrong ways and his behavior corrected."[164] The target is the disposition and will, and the activity "seeks to correct the mind to put right what is wrong, to improve the spiritual attitude."[165] As Acts 20:31, Rom 15:14, Col 1:28 and 3:16, 1 Thess 5:14, and 2 Thess 3:15 demonstrate, a godly noetic orientation is the nucleus of all spiritually effective ministry.

Our responsibility, whether perceived corporately or individually, must be to turn every thought into a prisoner of war (cf. αἰχμαλωτίζω) which is obedient to Christ (2 Cor 10:5).

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[164]*NIDNTT*, s.v. "νουθετέω," by F. Selter, 1.568. The OT combination of + דָּבָר לֵב/עַל‑/לְ‑ + ("to speak or appeal to the heart"): "'To speak to the heart' in the Old Testament consequently means: to move someone to decision" (Wolff, *Anthropology of the OT*, 52) may be conceptually parallel.

[165]*TDNT*, s.v. "νοέω, κτλ.," by Behm, 4.1019.

THE RELATION OF PURPOSE AND MEANING IN INTERPRETING SCRIPTURE

NORMAN L. GEISLER

The central idea of this article is to show that the widely held hermeneutical practice of using the alleged purpose (why) of an author to determine the meaning (what) of a passage is wrong. First of all, we try to show how it is unfounded, since meaning can be known apart from purpose. Further, we point to ways in which this practice has led to unorthodox conclusions which undermine the authority of Scripture.

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DOES purpose determine meaning, or does meaning determine purpose? Which is the cart and which is the horse? It is common among evangelicals to appeal to the purpose of the author to determine the meaning of a passage. Is this legitimate? Are there any dangers in so doing?

In this study I propose two theses in answer to these important questions: (1) Purpose does not determine meaning. Rather, meaning determines purpose. (2) Using purpose to determine meaning sometimes leads to unorthodox conclusions, including a denial of the full verbal inspiration (inerrancy) of Scripture.

I. THE MEANING OF THE WORD INTENTION

A. *Several Meanings of the Word Intention*

Evangelicals often refer to the *intention* of the biblical author in order to determine the meaning of a passage. According to one meaning of the word *intention*, this is certainly important, for surely the meaning resides in what the author intended by the passage as opposed to what the readers may take it to mean to them.[1] However, the word

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[1] See E. D. Hirsch, *Validity in Interpretation* (New Haven: Yale University, 1961), chap. 1.

intention, like most words, has several meanings. Not all of these usages are legitimate in this connection. The following sentences provide examples of four different meanings of the word *intention*. *Intention* may mean:

    (1) *plan*, as in: "I intend to go tomorrow";

    (2) *purpose*, as in: "My intention was to help you";

    (3) *thought in one's mind*, as in: "I didn't intend to say that";

    (4) *expressed meaning*, as in: "The truth intended in John 3:16 is clear."

B. *The Legitimate Sense of the Word* Intention *in the Context of Hermeneutics*

First, evangelicals who believe in verbal[2] inspiration of Scripture should not use *intention* in the third sense when referring to the meaning of Scripture, for the locus of meaning (and truth) is not in the author's mind behind the text of Scripture. What the author meant is expressed *in* the text. The writings (γραφή) are inspired, not the thoughts in the author's mind.

Second, when we speak of understanding the meaning of a text we do not refer to some *plan* which the author had to express this meaning, whether or not it got expressed (no. 1 above). All we know of the author's intention is what the author did express in the text, not what he planned to say but did not express. Our knowledge of the author's plan (intention) is limited to the inspired text itself. So to speak of an intention which did not get expressed is to shift the locus of authority from the text to the author's mind behind the text.[3]

Third, the word *intention* can mean purpose (no. 3 above). This raises the question of whether we should look for the purpose of the author when we seek to find out what he really meant. Before we can answer this question properly we must define what is meant by the word *purpose* in this connection. The following contrast will clarify how we are using these terms:

    (1) Meaning is *what* the author expressed.

    (2) Purpose is *why* the author expressed it.

If this is so, then the question we pose is this: does the purpose (why) of the author determine his meaning (what)? Or, does the meaning determine the purpose? Our thesis is that purpose does not

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    [2] 2 Tim 3:16 refers to the *writings* (γραφή) as inspired. Paul spoke of "*words* taught by the Spirit" (1 Cor 2:13). Over and over again the NT authors use the phrase "It is *written*" to describe the locus of divine authority (cf. Matt 4:4, 7, 10).

    [3] This shift from the text to the author's intention behind the text is evident in Jack Rogers (who follows G. C. Berkouwer). See Rogers, *The Authority and Interpretation of the Bible* (New York: Harper & Row, 1979), 393, 430.

determine meaning. Actually, as I shall show later, the reverse is true, namely, meaning determines purpose.

Finally, the proper meaning of the *intention* of the author is the *expressed meaning* in the text (no. 4). Just as we do not say that the beauty is *behind* the painting, so the hermeneutically discoverable meaning is not located *behind* the text in the author's intention (no. 3). Rather, the meaning (*intention* no. 4) is expressed *in* the text the way beauty is expressed in the pigments on the canvas of a painting.[4]

The misuse of the word *intention*, to stand for the purpose (why) of the author, rather than for the meaning (what) of the author, often leads to unorthodox conclusions. One such conclusion is the denial of the full inspiration (inerrancy) of Scripture. This will become apparent in the discussion of the relation between meaning and purpose which follows.

II. THE RELATION OF MEANING AND PURPOSE

Meaning can be known independently of knowing the author's purpose. Of course, there is a sense in which one always knows the purpose of an author: his purpose is to convey his meaning. But in this sense it would be circular to claim that purpose determines meaning, for *purpose* in this sense simply means to convey the meaning. One can know the meaning (what) of a passage (including what we should *do* as a result of knowing the meaning) apart from knowing the purpose (why) the author had in mind for expressing that meaning. If this is so, then purpose could not possibly determine meaning, for if it did, then one could not know the meaning unless he first knew the purpose.

A. *Select Passages Illustrating the Relation of Meaning and Purpose*

Some "difficult" passages of Scripture will serve as illustrations of the point that purpose does not determine meaning. Exod 23:19 is a good test case: "Do not boil a kid in its mother's milk." Checking only three commentaries (Lange, Keil and Delitzsch, and Ellicott) yielded numerous different suggestions as to why the author said this. But despite the lack of unanimity or clarity as to the *purpose* of the author there is absolutely no question as to the *meaning* of the author.

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[4]This is to say that language (i.e., a sentence) is not an instrumental cause of meaning; it is the formal cause. Individual words (symbols) are the instruments *through* which meaning is conveyed. But language (sentences) is that *in* which meaning resides. The failure to understand this distinction leads some wrongly to think of meaning as being *behind* language rather than being expressed *in* it.

The *meaning* (what) of Exod 23:19 is simply this: Do not put a baby goat into a kettle of its mother's milk and heat it up to the boiling point. There is no word in the passage of doubtful meaning (usage), and every Hebrew who could read (or hear) this command knew exactly what it meant. And they knew precisely what he/she should do in obedience to this command.

Furthermore, the *meaning* would not be different, even if this statement were found in a cookbook. It would still mean that baby goat's meat should not be boiled in goat's milk. Of course, if it were found in a cookbook the *significance* would be different. Its significance is gained from the fact that it is a command of God in Scripture, not merely a human recipe, and from the overall context of this command in the Levitical legislation, which imparts theocratic significance that it would not have in a cookbook. However, the *meaning* is the same in both cases; only the *significance* differs. The *affirmation* (or command) is the same; only the *implications* differ. Further, even these broader implications are not determined by purpose; they are determined by the overall *context* of *who* said it, to *whom* it was said, and under *what* circumstances, etc. But *why* it was said (other than the purpose to communicate this *meaning*, what) has no determinative effect on the meaning of what was said.

However, despite the perfect clarity of the *meaning* of this passage, it is not at all clear what *purpose* the author of Exodus (Moses) had in giving this command. Here are eight of the speculations about purpose found within a few minutes in three commentaries. The prohibition of boiling a kid in its mother's milk was given:

(1) because this was an idolatrous practice;

(2) because it was a magical practice to make the land more productive;

(3) because it was cruel to destroy an offspring in the very means (milk) which sustained it;

(4) because it showed contempt for the parent-child relation;

(5) because it would profane (symbolically) the Feast of Ingathering;

(6) because God wanted them to use olive oil, not butter, for cooking;

(7) because it was too luxurious or epicurean;

The truth of the matter is that we do not know for sure the purpose of this text. In fact, it doesn't really matter what the purpose is. The meaning is clear, and this is all that matters. Meaning stands apart from purpose. Understanding purpose is not necessary for knowing the meaning of a passage. One can know what is meant (and what to do) without knowing why God gave this command.

The same point can be made from numerous "difficult" passages. The meaning in these passages is clear even if the purpose is not. Note the following OT examples:

(1) Do not eat shrimp (Lev 11:10).

(2) Do not wear a garment which mixes wool and linen (Deut 22:11).

(3) Do not have sex during the woman's menstrual period (Lev 20:18).

Despite the fact that we do not know the purpose for these commands, the *meaning* is perfectly clear. The fact is that knowing their meaning is not dependent on knowing their purpose.

B. *Several Reasons Why Purpose Does Not Determine Meaning*

The thesis that purpose does not determine meaning can now be supported by several additional arguments.

First, if purpose determined meaning, then we could not know the meaning (what) of a passage apart from knowing its purpose (why). But the above illustrations show clearly that meaning can be known apart from knowing purpose. So in spite of whatever added light may be cast on a passage by knowing one or more of the author's purposes, in no sense is the basic meaning of the passage dependent on knowing these purposes. Knowing the purpose can help illuminate the significance(s) of a passage, but it does not determine its meaning. That is, knowing the purpose(s) may aid understanding *how* the author intended the meaning to be applied to the original readers (hearers), but it no more determines meaning than *application* (how) determines *interpretation* (what). In short, *how* does not determine *what* any more than *why* the author said it determines *what* is meant. What is meant stands independently of the many ways a truth may be applied, for a single interpretation may have many applications as well as many implications. For example, the meaning (what) of the great commands is to love God with all our heart and our neighbor as ourselves. But this meaning does not limit us in the many *ways* (hows) this love can be expressed. Nor does our understanding of this meaning guarantee that we see all the implications of this love. The significance of love is deeper than the meaning.

The second reason that purpose cannot be used to determine meaning is that there are often many purposes for a text. If meaning were determined by a specific purpose of a text, then we would have to know which of the many purposes of a text is *the* purpose. That is, how do we know which purpose is hermeneutically determinative? Take, for example, the book of Philippians: there are at least four

purposes for which it was written: (1) to thank them for their gift
(4:16, 17); (2) to inform them of Paul's well-being (1:12–26); (3) to
encourage them to rejoice in their faith (3:1; 4:4); and (4) to help
resolve the conflict between two feuding women (4:1–3). Now which
of these is *the* purpose? How do we know for sure? Which purpose
would we use to determine the meaning of the text? This leads to the
next reason.

Third, many times we do not know what purpose(s) the author
had in mind. Not all authors state their purpose as clearly as John did
(John 20:30–31). Thus, the purpose of an author is often only a mat-
ter of conjecture. But if it is conjecture, then understanding the mean-
ing of the passage is dependent on our guesses! Surely God did not
plan that the meaning of so much Scripture should be subject to our
widely divergent guesses. At any rate, to claim that purpose deter-
mines meaning and to acknowledge (as finitude and humility demand)
that much of the time it is possible only to conjecture as to the central
purpose is to admit that frequently we cannot know what the mean-
ing of Scripture is.

Fourth, if our conjectures about purpose are often based on
extra-biblical data (such as conditions, beliefs, or practices of the
group addressed), then the meaning of Scripture is not self-contained.
The meaning of Scripture would in fact be dependent on factors not
found in the biblical text.[5] This is unacceptable for several reasons.
First of all, it would sacrifice the very heart of protestant hermeneu-
tics, for it would make extra-biblical protestant scholarship into a
kind of teaching magisterium of its own. Further, it would make it
practically impossible for the "laity" to understand the Scripture
without the aid of "professional" interpretation, since only the latter
are in command of the extra-biblical data on which the interpretation
would depend.

Fifth, if purpose determines meaning there can be no systematic
theology. For example, it would be impossible to treat traditional
subjects, such as angelology and demonology. It is probably correct
to say that it is not the central purpose of any book or section of
Scripture to teach about angels or demons. But if the central purpose
determines the meaning, then systematic theology is wrongly collect-
ing and systematizing all of the incidental aspects of various passages
which were not part of the determinative meaning of the passage. Not
only is this true of angels and demons but it is true in most passages

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[5]Of course our understanding of any text depends on knowing the meaning of the
words used. So in this sense all the "parts" (words) of the meaning are known apart
from the text. However, the "whole" of the meaning itself stands alone and is indepen-
dent of extra-textual factors (see discussion on the hermeneutical circle below under
"Context Determines Meaning").

of Scripture relating to pneumatology, anthropology, and eschatology, for few passages have these subjects as their central purpose. In point of fact, the very concept of *systematizing* various truths is contrary to the purpose of most (if not all) passages of Scripture. In short, the bulk (if not whole) of systematic theology would be built on teachings which were not meant (purposed) by any author in any passage of Scripture. So if purpose determines meaning, then systematic theology would be meaningless.[6]

Finally, if knowing the purpose (apart from what the text affirms) determines the meaning of that text, then we cannot know the meaning of any passage of Scripture. Since human interpreters do not have supra-human knowledge, their understanding of the author's meaning is limited to *what* is expressed in the text. But purpose is not *what*; it is *why*. If all we know is what is expressed, then we can never really know why. And if knowing what a text means is determined by knowing why it was written, then we can never know what it means.

In summary, if purpose determines meaning then the final authority for determining meaning does not reside in the text itself but in factors outside the text, such as the alleged purpose of the author. In this case we would not have a firm objective basis for knowing the absolute truth of God on which man's eternal destiny is dependent. If, on the contrary, meaning is not determined by purpose, but is expressed objectively in the text, then all men who can read (or understand by hearing) are capable of knowing the basic message from God in Holy Scripture.

III. how stressing purpose leads to unorthodox conclusions

A brief survey of the use of the principle that purpose determines meaning brings some sobering results for orthodox believers. Several examples will suffice.

A. *Non-literal Interpretation of Genesis 1 and 2*

Evangelicals have always claimed that Genesis 1 and 2 convey information about God's creative acts in the space-time world. While evangelicals differ about the details of the time of creation and number of the kinds of animals created, there is general agreement that cosmological truths about creation are expressed in these chapters, not simply religious truth.

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[6]Systematic theology is as meaningful as science is, for theology is to the Bible (God's special revelation) what science is to nature (God's general revelation). Both are a systematic approach to the truths God has revealed in a nonsystematic way. In each case God has given the truths and left it for man to organize them in an orderly way.

Some interpreters of Genesis 1 and 2, however, have generally not recognized the scientific and historical nature of the early chapters of Genesis.[7] Why? Often the answer seems to lie in their acceptance of the principle that purpose determines meaning. It is sometimes alleged that the purpose of Genesis 1 and 2 is to describe God's creative acts in a way that will lead men to worship him. This *conjectured* purpose is used then in a hermeneutically definitive way to explain away the obvious affirmations about the creation of animals and humans and to open the door for an evolutionary view of origins. In other words, if purpose *determines* meaning, then what seems to be a description of literal creation does not really mean this; it is simply a "myth" of origin to evoke our worship of God. Thus, by using purpose to determine meaning such interpreters have effectively obscured the literal meaning of the text of Genesis 1–2.

The same procedure is used by pro-homosexual interpreters of verses like Lev 18:22. The text says, "You shall not lie with a male as one lies with a female; it is an abomination." But according to a pro-homosexual understanding of this verse one must view this obvious prohibition against homosexual acts in view of the *purpose* of the author. Just what was this purpose? According to some pro-gay interpreters the purpose was to preserve ritual purity or to avoid idolatry. It was not to make moral pronouncements about the wrongness of homosexual acts.[8] Thus, we are told that when one "understands" the prohibition *in the light of this purpose* there is, in fact, no moral condemnation here against homosexual acts.

Rudolph Bultmann's methodology is another example of the purpose-determines-meaning hermeneutic in operation. Bultmann acknowledged that the NT documents present the life of Christ in terms of miraculous stories culminating in the story of the resurrection of Christ. However, when these stories are seen in the light of the central purpose of the author, which is to evoke an existential commitment to the Transcendent, then they must be understood as myths.[9] These myths do not describe space-time events, but rather, they are religious stories designed to evoke an existential commitment to the Transcendent. Here again, using purpose to determine meaning has led to a distortion and negation of the true meaning of the text.

[7]See Harold De Wolf, *A Theology of the Living Church* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1953), 147; and Langdon Gilkey, *Maker of Heaven and Earth* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Company, 1959), 33.

[8]See Letha Scanzoni and Virginia Mollenkott, *Is the Homosexual My Neighbor?* (New York: Harper & Row, 1978), 59–60; and Norman Pittenger, *Gay Life Styles* (Los Angeles: The Universal Fellowship, 1977), 80, 81.

[9]See Rudolf Bultmann, "New Testament and Mythology," in Reginald H. Fuller, trans., *Kerygma and Myth: A Theological Debate*, ed. Hans Werner Bartsch (London: Billing and Sons, 1954), 1–8.

Let us take an example of the same procedure practiced by someone less liberal. Jack Rogers is well known for his attacks on the doctrine of inerrancy. What is not as well known is that he launched his attack from this same purpose-determines-meaning basis.[10] Rogers has not carried it as far as others have, but he has used it to deny the historic biblical teaching about the inerrancy of Scripture. Rogers's view is particularly dangerous because he not only claims to be orthodox, but he also claims to believe in the inspiration and authority of Scripture. He even insists that in one sense the whole Bible is true and without errors.[11] If this is so, then how is it that he can also insist that some of the scientific and historical statements of Scripture can be mistaken? He can do so because he practices a purpose-determines-meaning hermeneutic. According to Rogers, interpreting in view of the purpose of the author enables one to accept modern higher criticism. He wrote: "Because of his conviction that the purpose of Scripture was to bring us to salvation in Christ, Berkouwer, like Kuyper and Bavinck, was open to the results of critical scholarship in a way that the Princeton theology was not."[12] Here again when purpose is used as hermeneutically determinative of meaning the real meaning of Scripture can be obscured or negated.

Not all evangelicals carry this principle as far as in the foregoing examples. However, the same principle seems to be at work even among evangelicals who believe inerrancy and all major orthodox doctrines. Illustrations of this can be found in interpretations of how the NT uses the OT. One example is Ps 8:5, which reads: וַתְּחַסְּרֵהוּ מְּעַט מֵאֱלֹהִים, "and you made him a little lower than God (מֵאֱלֹהִים)." The NT quotes this verse, following the LXX: ἠλάττωσας αὐτὸν βραχύ τι παρ' ἀγγέλους, "You made him a little lower than the angels" (Heb 2:7). Some Hebrew scholars prefer to translate מֵאֱלֹהִים in the psalm as "God," but at the same time to maintain that the usage of the LXX translation's ἀγγέλους is appropriate, though not hermeneutically determinative for the interpretation of the OT passage itself.[13] How then can one believe in the truthfulness of all Scripture (including

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[10]Rogers, *Authority and Interpretation*, 393, 428, and *Biblical Authority* (Waco, TX: Word, 1978), 17, 21, 42, 43. Rogers wrote: "To keep to the thoughts and intentions of the biblical writers we must . . . remember that their purpose was to bring us, not information in general, but the good news of salvation" (*Biblical Authority*, 21).

[11]In an interview in the *Wittenburg Door* (Feb.–March, 1980) Rogers said, "Let's get the record straight. I have never said verbally or in print, that the Bible has mistakes in it" (p. 21). Kenneth Kantzer also cites Rogers' belief in "the complete truth of the Bible . . . " in *Christianity Today* (Sept. 4, 1981), 18.

[12]Jack Rogers, *Authority and Interpretation*, 428, 429.

[13]See Donald Glenn, "Psalm 8 and Hebrews 2: A Case Study in Biblical Hermeneutics and Biblical Theology," in *Walvoord: A Tribute* ed. Donald K. Campbell (Chicago: Moody, 1982) 49.

Hebrews 2) and yet explain how this LXX translation is included in
the inspired text of Hebrews 2? According to some evangelicals this
can be accomplished as long as we remember "that the author of
Hebrews did not intend to say anything about the temporary or per-
manent inferiority of Christ to angels. His sole purpose in using
Psalm 8 was . . . to identify Jesus with man."[14] So it is claimed that
the purpose of the writer of Hebrews is not to teach anything about
angels in this passage, but is solely to stress the humanity (and
humiliation) of Christ.[15] Thus, if this passage is interpreted in the
light of its central *purpose* there is no problem. For if this is so then
the author is not stressing the mistaken part of the quotation but only
the true part. In this way some believe they have retained a belief in
inerrancy of Scripture and yet have explained the difference between
the Hebrew of Psalm 8 and the inspired text of Hebrews 2. In fact,
other inerrantists, including John Calvin, are cited in support of this
position.[16] Calvin wrote: "The apostles were not so scrupulous, pro-
vided they perverted not Scripture to their own purpose. We must
always have a regard to the end for which they quote passages. . . ."[17]

Laying aside this debatable statement from Calvin,[18] *in principle*
there is no difference between this conclusion and that of the above
examples where purpose determines meaning. In each of the above
cases there are the following similarities:

    (1) The text says something is so.

    (2) But for some reason it is believed that this is not so.

    (3) Yet the complete truthfulness of Scripture is claimed.

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[14] Ibid., 48.

[15] If only what the author is *concentrating on* is true but not everything he *affirms*,
then two serious problems result. First, the classic statement of the inspiration of Scrip-
ture would not be true that "whatever the Bible says [affirms], God says [affirms]."
This means that the Bible may be affirming some things that God is not affirming. If
this is so then the Bible is not the Word of God; it simply *contains* the Word of God.
Second, if truth is not centered in what the text actually says (affirms), but only what
the author is *concentrating on*, then hermeneutics is reduced to a guessing game about
the state of the author's consciousness. In short, the focus has been shifted from the
objective text to the subjective area of an author's intention behind the text.

[16] Ibid., 47.

[17] As cited by S. Lewis Johnson, *The Old Testament in the New: An Argument for
Biblical Inspiration* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1980), 64.

[18] Calvin may be interpreted another way than implied here. Calvin does not really
say that by using the purpose (why) of the biblical author one can explain away a
mistake the author makes. Rather, Calvin simply points out that the NT writers did
not always use the *exact words* of the OT writers they quoted, but they did remain
faithful to the *meaning* of the OT texts they quoted. In Calvin's own words, the biblical
writers "have careful regard for the main object so as not to turn Scripture to a false
meaning, but as far as *words* are concerned, as in other things which are not relevant to
the present *purpose*, they allow themselves some indulgence." (*Calvin's New Testament
Commentaries* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1979], 12.136; emphasis added.)

(4) This conclusion is justified by an appeal to the purpose of the author as the key to what the text really means.

In short the purpose-determines-meaning hermeneutic is used to explain a "mistake" in the text. For what is not so is believed to be outside the purpose of the text and therefore not contrary to inerrancy.

Of course there is a difference in the "size" or importance of the mistakes thus explained from person to person in the above examples. Bultmann uses the purpose-determines-meaning procedure to deny the essentials of the Faith, and homosexuals use it to justify immoral activity. Others use it to explain minor difficulties in the text. But for everyone there are places in which what the text actually says is considered wrong. So regardless of the size of the error in the various examples, the fact is that in each one the purpose of the author (as the interpreter sees it) is used to justify rejecting what the text actually affirms.

This next example does not fit the above pattern, but it does reveal a misuse of the purpose of the author. It is generally agreed that John states his purpose for writing his Gospel when he says, "that you might believe that Jesus is the Christ" (John 20:31). So in this case we do not have to guess; we know for sure what his overall purpose is. Since this is the case, if purpose determines meaning, then it would follow that whenever there is any difficulty in knowing what a given passage means one could appeal to this purpose to help explain the difficulty. One writer takes this to imply that we should limit our application of the truths of the Gospel to what the author intended (purposed).[19] For example, some claim that how Jesus approached the woman at the well should not be used to teach how we can witness to others about Christ. For they say the author did not so intend this passage. They insist John intended this passage not to teach us how to witness but to show us that Jesus was the Messiah who could give living water.

Several things seem evident about this understanding of John 4. First, purpose is being used as hermeneutically determinative of meaning. Second, *why* the passage was written is used to limit *how* the passage can be legitimately applied. In short, there is a two-fold confusion. There is the already familiar problem of using the purpose (why) to determine meaning (what). But there is the additional confusion of using purpose (why) to limit application (how). But this is wrong. For simply because an author may have envisioned a particular application of the truth he affirmed does not mean that this is the only appropriate application of that meaning.

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[19]See Sidney Greidanus, *Sola Scriptura: Problems and Principles in Preaching Historical Texts* (Toronto: Wedge Publications Foundation), 70–71.

This hermeneutical mistake violates several principles. First, it is contrary to the inspired usage of one Scripture by other Scripture. For example, the meaning (what) of Hos 11:1 ("Out of Egypt have I called my son") has its application in Hosea to the nation of Israel. However, in Matt 2:15 its application is different; it is to the return of Christ from Egypt. Now if application must be limited to the way the original author applied it, then the divinely authoritative apostle Matthew made a mistake in his inspired writing. Some would justify this kind of error by appealing to a so-called "inspired liberty" of a biblical writer or to imply that he took leave of the Holy Ghost to change the intended meaning of the author expressed in the text.[20] But it seems to me this negates the whole evangelical hermeneutic. The inspired writings of the NT cannot be mistaken in how they use the OT.

Further, if the application (how) of a passage is limited to the purpose (why), which really determines the meaning (what), then there is no way to preach (and apply) much of the Bible to most believers in the world today. For *how* a passage is applied will depend on the culture in which the person lives. "Lift holy hands [in prayer] (1 Tim 2:8); "Greet the brethren with a holy kiss" (1 Thess 5:26); and women praying with a veil over their face (1 Cor 11:13) are only a few of the examples which come to mind. In each case the *what* (meaning) is absolute but the *how* (application) is relative to the culture. For example, 1 Thess 5:26 is an absolute obligation to greet fellow be- lievers. Precisely what means (how) this greeting should take will depend on the culture. For some it will be a kiss, for others a hug, and for still others a handshake. The interpretation (what) is the same for all cultures but the application (how) will be different from cul- ture to culture. There is another way to view the fallacy of tying the application to the purpose (and meaning). If the application is tied to the meaning, when the application changes, the meaning must change with it. But if the meaning changes then so does the truth which that meaning expresses also change. And if truth changes then it is not absolute but in process. Thus, we have a denial of the absolute or unchangeable truth of Scripture.

Finally, if application is inseparably connected with the purpose (and meaning) of the author then we have placed a straight-jacket on the Holy Spirit. This would mean that we must apply all Scripture

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[20]The recent "Chicago Statement on Biblical Hermeneutics" by the International Council on Biblical Inerrancy (Nov., 1982) pointedly addresses this issue as follows: "WE DENY that Scripture may be interpreted in such a way as to suggest that one passage corrects or militates against another. We deny that later writers of Scripture misinterpreted earlier passages of Scripture when quoting from or referring to them" (Article XVII).

the same way the original author did. Besides the already noted problem that we are usually only guessing as to what the author's intended application was, this would make some passages of Scripture unpreachable in most churches. How many churches have drunkards at the Lord's Table (1 Cor 11:21)? Or sons cohabitating with their stepmothers (1 Cor 5:1)? Must we limit the Holy Spirit in *applying* the same truth (of the wrongness of these and numerous other acts) to the same kind of situations which occasioned the apostles' original exhortations? Surely a more sensible approach is to concentrate our hermeneutical efforts on getting the right *interpretation* of the passage. Once we are assured of this, then any application of *that* truth to any one who in any way needs that truth will be legitimate. Let us not hermetically·seal the Holy Spirit into the container of our hermeneutics so as to suffocate the fresh breath he wishes to breathe on our lives as he applies the unchanging truth of Scripture to our changing situations. Those who oppose this method are ignoring the numerous divinely authorized examples of the same truth being applied in different ways within the Scripture itself.[21]

IV. AN ALTERNATIVE VIEW: LOOK FOR MEANING NOT PURPOSE

If we are not to use purpose to determine meaning then what does determine meaning? In order to answer this question properly, we must first make an important distinction. Technically speaking, the interpreter does not determine (cause) meaning by any hermeneutical procedure. Meaning is determined by the author; it is *discovered* by the reader (listener). Only minds cause meaning by (in) a medium of expression which other minds are thereby able to discern. So when we speak loosely of "determining" the meaning of the author we refer to the active hermeneutical process by which we discover the meaning which the author expressed. But since the process of interpretation is an active one there is some sense in which the reader is "determining" what the writer meant.

A. *Context Determines (Helps Us to Discover) Meaning*

Purpose does not determine meaning; context determines meaning. First, this can be seen with respect to how a word is used in a sentence. Although we speak of the different meanings of words, technically speaking, words do not have any meaning. Words have different *usages* in sentences; sentences have meaning. There is no

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[21]Zech 12:10 ("They shall look on me whom they have pierced") is applied both to the first coming of Christ (John 19:37) and to his second coming (Rev 1:7). Isaiah's teaching (chap. 53) about Jesus bearing our sickness is applied to both spiritual healing (1 Pet 2:24) and also to physical healing (Matt 8:17).

intrinsic meaning to isolated entities such as words any more than there is a meaning to letters of which words are composed. Like broken pieces of colored glass, words have no meaning unless they are formed into an overall picture or framework which expresses some thought or feeling. When the broken glass is formed into a cathedral window or the individual words structured into a poem they are given meaning by the overall *Gestalt* or order expressed by the mind. The meaning, however, is not in the individual words (or pieces of glass) but in the overall mosaic or structure into which they are intentionally shaped. Thus, it is their form or context which determines their meaning; the whole determines the parts.

What is true of the relation of individual words in a sentence is similarly true of the relation of individual sentences in a paragraph, and of a paragraph in a whole book. That is to say, the same series of words can have a different meaning in a different context. For example, the sentence "Love the world" has a different meaning when used in the context of an exhortation against lust than it has in a paragraph about our need for compassion for the lost.

In the final analysis, the meaning of the smaller unit is determined by the broader context. This same principle applies as we move from word to sentence to paragraph to book to the whole Bible. But in each case it is not why (purpose) the author used the smaller unit in the larger, but how it fits into the overall picture (or meaning) he is portraying. It is misleading to inquire about the purpose for which (why) an artist used a triangular piece of blue glass to portray the sky in an unfilled triangular hole in the section of the mosaic portraying a sky. He used it because of how it fits into that position which conveys the desired meaning he wished to express. Thus the real question leading to the discovery of the meaning of the parts in relation to the whole is how the part fits into the overall picture, not the purpose for which it is there. It is obviously there because the author put it there. And he put it there because of how it fitted into the picture of the overall meaning it was his purpose to express. The question is: how do the small meaning units (m) fit into the larger unit of meaning (M)? The question is never, how does purpose (P) determine meaning? It is, how does overall meaning (M) determine particular meaning (m)?

The situation may be diagrammed as follows:

Wrong View	Right View
Purpose determines meaning	Meaning determines purpose
P → M	M → P

Or to put it all together—including the smaller units of meaning, the overall meaning, and the purpose—the situation could be diagrammed as follows:

$$\text{AUTHOR} \rightarrow \text{M} \rightarrow \text{PURPOSE (end)}$$

This raises the question of the "hermeneutical circle," for the whole is made up of the parts. Yet the parts are made up by the whole. Is this not a vicious circle, an impossible situation? It certainly would be if the parts determined the whole in the same sense that the whole determined the parts. Fortunately this is not the case. The following diagram illustrates how the parts relate to the whole in a different way than the whole relates to the parts.

puzzle	⟵ _ _ _ _ ⟶	pieces
painting	⟵ _ _ _ _ ⟶	strokes
building	⟵ _ _ _ _ ⟶	bricks
mosaic	⟵ _ _ _ _ ⟶	fragments
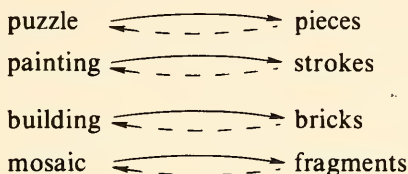
It is obvious from these illustrations that the whole is related to the parts by way of *determination*, but the parts merely make a *contribution* to the whole. That is, the whole gives *structure* to the parts, whereas the parts provide the *stuff* for that form. In short, the parts are the *material* cause but the whole is the *formal* cause of the overall meaning (M). So it is that the small units of meaning (m) contribute to the larger meaning (M) in Scripture, whereas the larger meaning provides the determinative context for understanding the smaller units. It is in this sense that overall meaning (M) determines particular meanings (m). But purpose does not determine meaning.

B. *Meaning Determines Purpose*

Not only does purpose *not* determine meaning, but just the reverse is true. There is a real sense in which the meaning of a passage determines its purpose. For once we know *what* God said in Scripture we automatically know *why* he said it. He said it for the purpose of expressing this truth to us so that we could know and obey it. The purpose of all Scripture is for us to *understand* (and obey) the mind of God on the matter revealed. The purpose (why) of Scripture is always to convey the meaning (what). So, contrary to a widely accepted hermeneutic, meaning is the "horse" and purpose is the "cart." To claim that purpose determines the meaning is to get the cart before the horse.

C. *Where does the Central Unity of a Passage Reside?*

Many students of Scripture are so accustomed to looking for the central purpose of a book that they feel that the method proposed here will rob them of the primary objective of looking for the central purpose of a book. If we should not look for purpose of a passage, then for what should we look? In brief, the answer is, we should look for the *unifying theme* of the book. We should ask what it is that holds the whole book together the way the picture unifies all the pieces of a puzzle. That overall order is the unifying theme.

To put it another way, we should look for the *overall argument* of the author. This can be done by tracing the premises, by observing how they build, and by noting the conclusions the author draws from them. But whether we call it unifying theme or overall argument we are looking for the *what* (meaning), not the *why* (purpose) of a book. Herein lies the key to understanding the Word of God. On the contrary, seeking the alleged purpose of the author and interpreting the parts in the light of it will be both confusing and misleading. It will inevitably lead to a distortion of the very meaning which we allegedly seek to understand, no matter how sincere or scholarly the approach may be.

D. *Relating Purpose and Meaning: A Summary*

1. Purpose is not hermeneutically determinative of meaning. *Why* something is said never determines the meaning of *what* is said.

2. Purpose is formally independent of meaning. One can understand what is meant, even if he does not understand why it was said.

3. Using purpose to determine meaning leads to a distortion of the true meaning by reshaping the meaning to fit the purpose.

4. Using purpose to determine meaning confuses *application* (why) with *interpretation* (what). It confuses the *content* of the message with the *behavioral* change in the lives of the readers envisioned by the author.

5. Using purpose to determine meaning is a hermeneutical form of "the end (purpose) justifies (validates) the means (meaning)" principle. It is hermeneutical utilitarianism.[22]

This is not to deny that understanding purpose is often interesting and even illuminating. For *how* a passage is applied or *why* an author wrote it (that is, what changes he purposed in the readers) can be

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[22]The end does not justify the means either in ethics or in hermeneutics. The end manifests the means, but it does not *justify* it. The means must justify themselves. If there is no justification for the means then they are unjustified. This applies to meaning as well as to values.

helpful in understanding the significance of the passage. However, to limit the application of the passage to our conjectures about the author's purpose, or to eliminate certain aspects of truth in the passage because they are not believed to be necessary to the central purpose, is hermeneutically illegitimate. It in fact may lead to a denial of the full inspiration and inerrancy of Scripture, as well as other teachings.

RESTORATION AND ITS BLESSINGS:
A THEOLOGICAL ANALYSIS
OF PSALMS 51 AND 32

Jack Barentsen

Psalms 51 and 32 arose out of the same historical circumstances but reflect a different time of composition. Both psalms, however, are highly structured; this is indicated by various features such as parallelism and chiasm, repetition of key terminology, and important structural markers. These point to a twofold division in each psalm. The second division of each psalm contains the main thrust in the flow of thought, so that renewal and praise (Psalm 51) and teaching sinners God's ways (Psalm 32) are the prominent ideas.

This essay uses structural analysis as a tool for contextual analysis of the two psalms. John Callow's A Semantic Structure Analysis of Second Thessalonians[1] *serves as the model for the work undertaken here. The advantage of structural analysis is its assumption that human thought is organized; thus, an analysis of the structure of biblical texts should prove very helpful as a tool for biblical theology (see appendix).*

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INTRODUCTION

Methodology

T HE task of combining exegesis and theology is one of the most difficult but also one of the most fruitful challenges in biblical studies. It requires the interpreter to make the detailed observations resulting from exegesis yield theological conclusions, while avoiding the proof-texting method typical of some systematic theologies. I have therefore endeavored in this study to avoid details which would distract from the goal of contributing to a biblical theology of sin and

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[1]Ed. by Michael F. Kopesec (Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics, 1982).

man, while elaborating on those details which support my reconstruction of the flow of thought in the psalms.

In order to avoid unnecessary detail, a method of contextual analysis as developed by associates of Wycliffe Bible Translators will be used.[2] Accordingly, the structure of the psalms is analyzed first. The results of this analysis are presented in an *overview chart* which indicates the relationships between the various constituents (that is, divisions, subdivisions, etc.) of the psalms.

After the structural analysis, the flow of thought of the psalms is surveyed in order to arrive at an understanding of the meaning. However, since it exceeds the boundaries of this study to delineate all the evidence for a proper understanding of the psalms, only evidence relevant to the biblical theological argument will be adduced. The results of this analysis of meaning are synthesized in a *thematic outline*. This outline contains constituent titles, which identify the number of verses concerned, the type of unit these verses represent (division, section, paragraph cluster, paragraph, etc.; these units do not necessarily conform to the more technical use in Callow's *Second Thessalonians*, but rather serve here as convenient labels for the hierarchy of constituents), and the role this constituent plays in the flow of thought of the psalms, indicated by the term "role." The outline also describes the contents of each constituent, the "constituent theme." These themes differ from common phrase outlines in that they represent both in form and wording the content of the verses; that is, the themes will consist of full sentences of a grammatical structure analogous to the verses represented. This will in turn provide the appropriate basis for a theological analysis of the psalms.

Background of Psalms 51 and 32

These psalms have traditionally been identified as two of the seven penitential psalms.[3] The others are Psalms 6, 38, 102, 130, and 143. Of these, Psalm 51 is perhaps one of the finest examples of a penitential psalm, while Psalm 32, although more didactic, still fits the same mold.

Psalm 51, as shown by vv 1–2,[4] concerns David's sin with Bathsheba which is described in 2 Samuel 11 and for which David was rebuked by the prophet Nathan in the 12th chapter. Although these titles may not be original with the composition of the psalms, they at least represent an early tradition. Assuming an early date for the

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[2]See Callow, *Second Thessalonians*, 1–15.

[3]Norman Snaith, *The Seven Psalms* (London: Epworth, 1964) 9.

[4]Throughout, the Hebrew verse enumeration will be followed. Thus, the title will include vv 1–2, while the psalm itself starts with v 3 and runs through v 21.

psalm and Davidic authorship, there is no problem accepting the accuracy of the title.

Psalm 32 is also Davidic, but the title does not include information about the setting as does the title of Psalm 51. Most commentators associate this psalm with the same series of events relating to David's sin. But there is a clear difference of style and mood between the two psalms. It seems that Psalm 51 represents the immediate outcry of David after Nathan's rebuke, while Psalm 32 was composed later after more reflection on these experiences.

This connection can be substantiated internally. In Ps 51:15, David vows to teach sinners God's ways upon being granted the restoration of the joy of his salvation. In Ps 32:8 David fulfills this vow by giving instruction in the way people should walk.[5] Other observations also suggest this. Psalm 32 is more didactic, with its well thought-out contrasts, while Psalm 51 seems more emotional. This would indicate that Psalm 32 was written after some reflection upon the event, while Psalm 51 mirrors David's turmoil in guilt. It is therefore reasonable to believe that Psalm 51 is the earlier of the two compositions.

On the other hand, it must be noted that the emotional flavor of Psalm 51 does not imply a lack of reflection. Dalglish, in his monumental work on this psalm, has pointed out many parallels with other ancient Near Eastern literature, Egyptian as well as Sumero-Akkadian.[6] Thus, it may well be that Psalm 51 belongs in a category of highly structured literature apparently common throughout the ancient Near East; this kind of composition used certain traditional expressions to indicate submission to a superior and repentance on the part of a subordinate.

But if "the Hebrew psalms of lamentation are indebted to the Sumero-Accadian, they have in turn contributed their own most definitive creativity in their formulation."[7] Thus, none of the theological biases of the ancient Mesopotamian religions need have influenced Hebrew common Psalmody. In addition, even if Psalm 51 follows a traditional pattern, that does not diminish the emotional value of the poem. Rather, it heightens the genius of the poet who was able to use certain set forms to convey such deep emotional struggles.

In this study, ancient Near Eastern parallels will not be considered, not because they may not be valuable, but because they are not germane to our topic.

[5] See F. Delitzsch, *Biblical Commentary on the Psalms*, vol. 1, trans. F. Bolton, in *Biblical Commentary on the Old Testament* (reprint; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1970) 398.

[6] Edward R. Dalglish, *Psalm Fifty-One in the Light of Ancient Near Eastern Patternism* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1962).

[7] Ibid., 277.

PSALM 51

Structural Analysis: Divisions of the Psalm

Many expositors of Psalm 51 (as well as of many other passages in Scripture) fail to account for the structure simply because they do not recognize it. For instance, Harrison[8] states that rigid analysis of the psalm is difficult because of the emotional upheaval. "David intermingled and repeated the petitions which clamored for utterance." It is quite true that Psalm 51 is strongly emotional, but this does not imply that the psalm was "blurted out" as it came to David's mind.

Dalglish takes another approach. Analyzing the literary features of Psalm 51 in the light of ancient Near Eastern parallels, he develops a strophic structure based on observations about meter, and on this builds an outline to describe the logical flow of thought in the psalm.[9] Although this approach has a certain validity, a more careful analysis can be done on the basis of the internal coherence of the text. First, to build an outline on strophic structure is somewhat hazardous because of the uncertainties about meter and strophes in Hebrew poetry. Instead, an analysis of the parallelisms in the psalm is likely to yield more accurate results. Second, word repetition within the psalm is not accounted for in Dalglish's method. But repetition of key terms, coupled with the use of structural markers such as "therefore," "since," "and," and so on, is one of the more obvious tools available to the poet.

There is little doubt that there are three main divisions in the psalm. Vv 1–2 are recognized as the title and setting, while vv 20–21 are generally seen as material extraneous to the psalm proper. Some even go so far as to state that the last two verses are a later liturgical addition;[10] even if this is not true, it must be acknowledged that vv 20–21 manifest a shift in thought from the body of the psalm, vv 3–19.

The main body of the psalm rather easily falls into two sections. The shift of terminology from one section to the other is the clearest distinguishing feature of the two sections. Vv 3–9 are primarily concerned with sin, purity, and cleansing, while vv 12–19 are more concerned with restoration and renewal of heart and spirit, as the following list based on Auffret's analysis shows:[11]

[8] E. F. Harrison, "A Study of Psalm 51," *BSac* 92 (1935) 29.

[9] Dalglish, *Psalm Fifty-One*, 77–81.

[10] Ibid., 77.

[11] Auffret, "Note sur la Structure Litteraire de PS LI 1–19," *VT* 26 (1976) 145.

vv 3–9		vv 12–19	
פשע	– 3, 5	לב	– 12, 19
עון	– 4, 7	רוח	– 12, 13, 14, 19
חטא	– 4, 5, 6, 7, 9	ברא	– 12
רע	– 6	חדש	– 12
כבס	– 4, 9	שוב	– 14, 15
טהר	– 4, 9		
מחה	– 3		

In addition to these differences in terminology, note that vv 12-19 contain another theme (not elaborated by Auffret). שׂשׂן (vv 10, 14) and שׂמח (v 10) speak of joy and gladness; למד (v 15) and רנן (v 16) expand the theme by turning joy into testimony; תהל׳ה and שׂפה (v 17) further the idea by turning to praise; and חפין and רצה (v 18) with the negation of בזה (v 19) show how these things are desired by God.

This survey of terminology shows that the movement of the psalm is from pardon of sin in vv 3–9 to the restoration of the heart in vv 12–19.[12] But the latter section also describes in considerable detail man's reactions to God's restoration. The theme, then, may be more appropriately identified as praise resulting from God's restoration of the soul.

So far, vv 10–11 have not been considered. These verses seem out of place, because v 10 already is concerned with joy, the theme of vv 12–19, while v 11 still cries out for forgiveness, the theme of vv 3–9. V 11 uses חטא and עון, as in vv 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, and the term מחה, also found in v 3; v 10 has שׂשׂן and זכה, found in vv 14 and 19 respectively.[13] It is therefore reasonable to identify vv 10–11 as the hinge of the psalm. The main sections of the central division are therefore 3–9, 11 and 10, 12–19.

Auffret has pointed out that the unity of the first section is maintained by parallelisms between 3–4 and 8–9 on the one hand, and 5–6a and 6b–7 on the other. The relationship between vv 4 and 9 is shown by the use of the same words—כבס, חטא and טהר. The relationship between vv 3 and 8 is through similar terms, חסד of v 3 corresponding with אמת in v 8, and רחמם in v 3 corresponding with חכמה in v 8.[14] Thus the structure is parallel in an a-b-a-b pattern.

The internal structure of vv 5–7, however, is not parallel, but chiastic. In vv 5 and 7 the first person singular is prominent in both independent pronouns and verbal forms, while in 6a–6b, the second person singular is more prominent (although one verb is still in first

[12] Ibid.
[13] Ibid., 145–46.
[14] Ibid., 142.
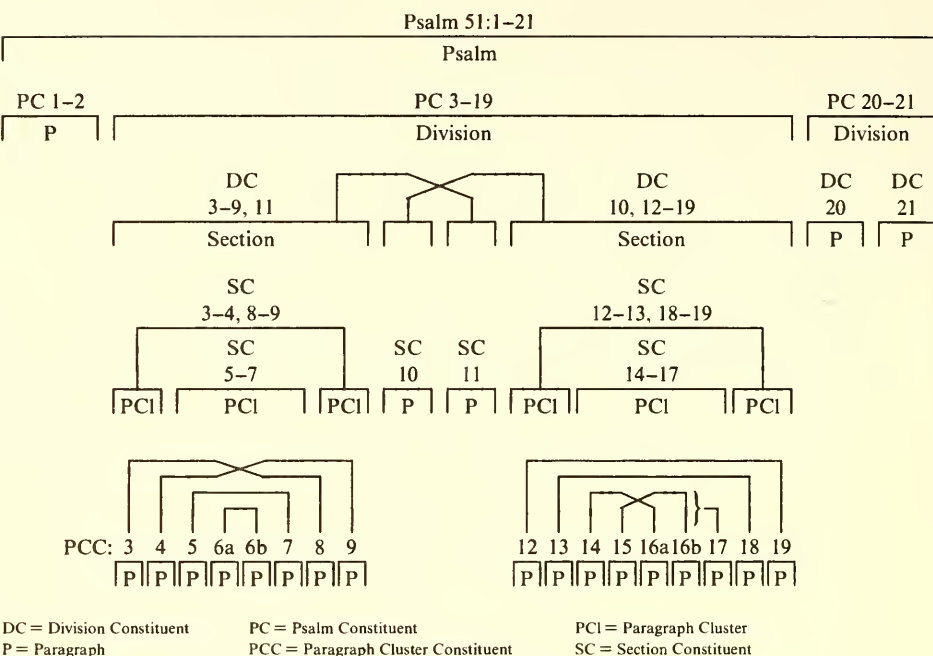
Constituent Organization

Psalm 51:1–21

CHART I: Overview of Psalm 51

person by way of transition).[15] The structure here is chiastic in an
a-b-b-a pattern. A key to distinguishing the transition from vv 3–4 to
vv 5ff. is the use of כי, which is often an indicator of the transition
from introduction to body. Here כי answers the question "Why?"—
that is, why the forgiveness is necessary.[16]

The basis of unity in the second section is similar. Vv 12 and 19
have רוח and לב in common, while רוח reoccurs in v 13, and v 18
introduces זבח, which also occurs in v 19. Thus, vv 12–13, 18–19
form a unit and are arranged chiastically (a-b-b-a).

Vv 14 and 16a share ישע, while v 15, with פשע and חטא, uses
antonyms of צדק found in 16b, thus showing a parallel arrangement
(a-b-b-a).[17]

These structures with their parallel and chiastic patterns are
shown in Chart I.

[15]Ibid., 145.
[16]Dalglish, *Psalm Fifty-One*, 104.
[17]Auffret, "Note," 143–44.

It is interesting to note the many synonymous parallelisms in Psalm 51, especially since this feature is different from Psalm 32, where most terminological relationships are contrastive. This survey has also shown that the psalm is highly structured, and consequently that there is no basis for the idea that because the psalm is emotional, it is unstructured. The task at hand is to show how the meaning is packaged within this structure.

Reconstruction of the Meaning: The Unity of the Psalm

The main purpose of this part of the study is to determine how the two main sections of the psalm (vv 3–9, 11 and 10, 12–19) relate to each other. But first the content of the sections needs to be analyzed.

The content of the two sections

The first section consists of three paragraph clusters (vv 3–4, 5–7, and 8–9). As is evident from the previous analysis paragraph clusters 3–4 and 8–9 are parallel to each other. In order to establish the head (that is, main thought) of these verses, we need to discuss the relationship between 5–7 and 3–4, 8–9.

V 5 begins with כי, which indicates major transition, as already noted. It makes a logical progression from the statement of vv 3–4 to what follows and seems to give the reason for the plea for forgiveness.[18] Thus, vv 3–4, 8–9 seem to be the logical consequence of vv 5–7. The best way to reconstruct the flow of thought is that vv 3–4 introduce the thesis statement, after which support for the statement is given in vv 5–7. Vv 8–9 the close with a recapitulation, or rather amplification, of the thesis statement, implementing some of the concepts of vv 5–7. Therefore, the head of 3–9, 11 is vv 3–4.

This is further substantiated by considering v 11, the verse which together with v 10 forms the hinge of the argument in the psalm. V 11 repeats the main theme of vv 3–9 as shown in the structural analysis. This theme consists of a plea for forgiveness. Since v 11 is a transition verse, it may be thought of as a brief summary of the main theme of vv 3–9 before the thought of the psalm progresses. Now, if v 11 puts forth a plea for forgiveness as the main theme, then the key to vv 3–9 must be a statement or plea of the same content. Thus, it becomes clear that either the opening statement of vv 3–4 or its recapitulation in vv 8–9 contains the thesis of this section. This is why the outline below contains as the theme of the section vv 3–9, 11 the words "Cleanse me from my sin," and also includes in parentheses the reason for this plea, namely "for against you only I have sinned."

[18]Dalglish, *Psalm Fifty-One*, 104; Delitzsch, *Psalms*, 2. 135.

The second section also consists of three paragraph clusters (vv 12–13, 14–17, and 18–19) with the introductory paragraph of v 10. As in the first section, if v 10 is a transition verse, we may expect an important clue from its content to the main emphasis of this section. This verse consists of a plea to God to cause the petitioner to be glad and rejoice. Consequently, we should find in vv 12–19 a statement dealing with the concept of joy and gladness.

The statement about joy is found in v 14 and again in vv 16b and 17. Thus, it would appear that vv 14–17 constitute the main paragraph cluster within this section. This is especially revealing in light of the fact that most often v 12, "create in me a clean heart," is lifted out as the most central thought of the psalm, while our analysis here shows that somehow this verse is subordinate to the concepts in vv 14–17.

This analysis is also supported by another occurrence of כי, this time in v 18. Again it seems to introduce a reason for the thesis statement just given, thereby subordinating vv 18–19 to vv 14–17. And since vv 18–19 are parallel with vv 12–13, it follows that the latter verses are essentially subordinate to vv 14–17 as well. Hence, the outline places the paragraph cluster of vv 14–17 as head of the section vv 10, 12–19.

The content of vv 14–17, however, needs to be analyzed more closely. As already indicated, vv 14 and 16a seem to be related to each other. The same holds for vv 15 and 16b. However, v 17 remains to be discussed.

The progression of thought from vv 14 to 15, repeated in vv 16a to 16b, seems to be that God's restoration (or forgiveness) results in a human witness (or song). V 17, however, does not seem to have this movement from divine action to human response; instead, it ascribes both activities to God's working. God has to open the mouth (through restoration and forgiveness) so that he may be praised. It emphasizes to a greater degree the sovereignty of God. This in turn prepares the way for the theme of conformity to God's desires as presented in vv 18–19 and also vv 20–21. This implies then, that v 17 is the key portion of vv 14–17, and thereby also of the whole section vv 10, 12–19. So, the outline contains as the theme for this section the words "cause me to declare your praise" and adds in parentheses the concepts of vv 12–13 and 18–19, interpreted as means, "by creating in me a clean heart."

The contents of these two main sections may be summarized as follows. A prayer for pardon, begun in vv 3–4 and finished in vv 8–9, encloses the reason for the need for pardon, namely, great sinfulness as confessed by David.[19] From pardon, the psalm moves toward

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[19]See Auffret, "Note," 143.

restoration. A prayer for restoration, begun in vv 12–13 and reformu-
lated in vv 18–19, forms the basis of (or even the means of) a divinely
originated desire to praise God.[20]

The relationship between the two sections

In order to identify the main thrust of the psalm, it is necessary
to establish the relationship between the two sections. Auffret indi-
cates some of these relationships as follows. In section one, we find
the request for purification (vv 3–4, 8–9) but in section two a plea for
restoration (vv 12–13): here the confession of sin (vv 5–6a, cf. v 7),
there the witness to convert sinners (v 15); here a just sentence (v 6b),
there a just salvation (v 16, cf. v 14a).[21] Thus, Auffret concludes that
the first section is only a prelude to the second.[22]

But the relation needs to be more clearly specified. V 12, with the
request for restoration, is intimately bound up with the first section.
The latter's emphasis on man's sinfulness from conception contrasted
with God's desire for truth in the inner parts not only implies but
certainly demands a request for inner restoration. In a sense, v 12 is
the natural outgrowth of vv 3–9. However, on the basis of that resto-
ration, the psalmist can vow to testify of God's grace. He knows that
if God restores, he will be able to praise him. The relationship between
v 12 and v 17, then, seems to one of condition and consequence, v 12
being the condition of v 17. This understanding is supported by the כי
which begins in v 18, because it shows that the request for being made
to praise God has its origin in one's spiritual condition. From a
human standpoint one's spiritual condition is the logical condition for
being able to praise God, while from the divine standpoint, this repre-
sents the means whereby God generates praise unto himself. Either
way, the emphasis is on the praise generated for God.

In summary, the relationship between the two sections is that the
request for pardon is the condition of (or possibly otherwise subordi-
nate to) the request to be caused to praise God. Therefore, the theme
of the outline for the division encompassing vv 3–19 is this idea:
"You cause me to declare your praise."

A note about vv 20–21

A few brief comments about vv 20–21 need to be made. Several
commentators, especially those who date this psalm around the period
of the exile, regard these last verses as later, liturgical additions. The
reason seems obvious, because the statement that God delights in

[20]Ibid., 144.
[21]Ibid., 145.
[22]Ibid.

Thematic Outline of Psalm 51*

Psalm 51:1–21 (Psalm) [If you cleanse me from my sin (for against you only I have sinned)], [then by creating in me a clean heart] you cause me to declare your praise.

Psalm Constituent 1–2 (Paragraph) (Role: setting of 3–19) At the time when Nathan convicted David of his sin with Bathsheba.

Psalm Constituent 3–19 (Division) (Role: Body of the Psalm) [If you cleanse me from my sin (for against you only I have sinned)], [then by creating in me a clean heart] you cause me to declare your praise.

Division Constituent 3–9, 11 (Section) (Role: condition of 10, 12–19) Cleanse me from my sin [for against you only I have sinned].

Section Constituent 3–4 (Paragraph Cluster) (Role: Head of 3–9, 11) Cleanse me from my sin.

Paragraph Cluster Constituent 3 (Paragraph) (Role: topic orienter of 3–4) God, be gracious to me in accordance with your lovingkindness.

Paragraph Cluster Constituent 4 (Paragraph) (Role: Head of 3–4) Cleanse me from my sin.

Section Constituent 5–7 (Paragraph Cluster) (Role: reason for 3–4, 8–9) Against God only I have sinned.

Paragraph Cluster Constituent 5 (Paragraph) (Role: specific of 6a) My sin is always on my mind.

Paragraph Cluster Constituent 6a (Paragraph) (Role: Head of 5–7) Against God only I have sinned.

Paragraph Cluster Constituent 6b (Paragraph) (Role: equivalent of 6a) Your judgment is just.

Paragraph Cluster Constituent 7 (Paragraph) (Role: amplification of 5) I was sinful already at my very origin.

Section Constituent 8–9 (Paragraph Cluster) (Role: amplification of 3–4) Forgive me that I may be clean.

Paragraph Cluster Constituent 8 (Paragraph) (Role: grounds of 9) You want truth in my innermost being.

Paragraph Cluster Constituent 9 (Paragraph) (Role: Head of 8–9) Forgive me that I may be clean.

Section Constituent 11 (Paragraph) (Role: equivalent of 3–4) Forgive me all my sin.

Division Constituent 10, 12–19 (Section) (Roles: consequence of 3–9, 11; Head of the Body) [By creating in me a clean heart] cause me to declare your praise.

Section Constituent 10 (Paragraph) (Role: preview of 12–19) Cause me to rejoice.

*See Callow, *Second Thessalonians*, p. 7. His helpful "Chart of Relations Involving Communication Units" explains some of the terminology in this outline.

Section Constituent 12–13 (Paragraph Cluster) (Role: means of 14–17)
Create in me a clean heart.

Paragraph Cluster Constituent 12 (Paragraph) (Role: Head of 12–13)
Create in me a clean heart.

Paragraph Cluster Constituent 13 (Paragraph) (Role: contrast of 12) Do
not separate me from your presence.

Section Constituent 14–17 (Paragraph Cluster) (Roles: result of 12–13; head
of 10, 12–19) Cause me to declare your praise.

Paragraph Cluster Constituent 14 (Paragraph) (Role: condition of 15,
16b) Restore to me the joy of your salvation.

Paragraph Cluster Constituent 15 (Paragraph) (Role: equivalent of 16b)
I will teach sinners your ways.

Paragraph Cluster Constituent 16a (Paragraph) (Role: manner of 12)
Deliver me from guilt.

Paragraph Cluster Constituent 16b (Paragraph) (Role: consequence of
14) I will praise your righteousness.

Paragraph Cluster Constituent 17 (Paragraph) (Roles: summary of 14-16;
head of 14–17) Cause me to declare your praise.

Section Constituent 18–19 (Paragraph Cluster) (Role: amplification of 12–
13) You desire a broken heart and a contrite spirit.

Paragraph Cluster Constituent 18 (Paragraph) (Role: contrast of 19) You
do not delight in sacrifice.

Paragraph Cluster Constituent 19 (Paragraph) (Role: Head of 18–19)
You desire a broken heart and a contrite spirit.

Psalm Constituent 20–21 (Paragraph Cluster) (Role: closing of 3–19) If you do
good to Zion according to your grace, then you will delight in righteous sacrifices.

Paragraph Cluster Constituent 20 (Paragraph) (Role: condition of 21) Do good
to Zion according to your grace.

Paragraph Cluster Constituent 21 (Paragraph) (Role: consequence of 20) Delight
in righteous sacrifices.

sacrifices seems to contradict directly v 18, which says that God does
not delight in sacrifice.[23]

However, v 21 adds an important qualifier to "sacrifice," namely
"righteous," implying that these are not empty rituals; they are per-
formed with the right spiritual attitude. Note also that v 20 is an
appeal to God's sovereign grace to show favor to his covenant people.
The movement of thought is remarkably similar to the body of the
psalm. There we saw an appeal to God's sovereign grace for pardon,

[23] Dalglish, *Psalm Fifty-One*, 77, 194.

on which basis human praise could be offered to God. In vv 20–21 we see the same appeal on the basis of which (note the twice repeated אך in v 21) God may delight in the praises of men offered in the form of sacrifices.

The main difference between vv 20–21 and the body of Psalm 51 is that they are spoken within a national context rather than a personal one. The relationship can be best understood in light of the ancient Near Eastern concept of kingship.[24] The king, as a divinely appointed representative, was responsible not only for his own conduct and well-being, but also for that of the whole nation. The concepts of covenant and solidarity play an important role. Thus, after having settled his personal relationship with God, it would be natural for the king to turn his concerns to his nation. In fact, when this concept is properly applied, it will be seen that the presence of vv 20–21 may point to Davidic (because kingly) authorship, rather than late, possibly exilic editing of the psalm: priests or scribes concerned with liturgy would have little interest in adding a postscript with royal implications.

Theological Analysis: The Contents of the Psalm

One of the major ideas in the psalm is the dependence of man on God who forgives and restores. This stands in stark contrast to the greatness of sin (vv 5–7).

The greatness of sin

The movement of thought in vv 5–7 begins with the observation that man has sinned and that he is aware of it. Then the sin is put in proper perspective: it is primarily directed against God. Turning his attention to God, the writer states that God's judgment is just, while in contrast his own origins are in sin. Considering the contribution of each paragraph to the development of the thought is helpful.

V 5: The verse opens with the acknowledgment that David knew his sin; thus, he exposes his guilty conscience.[25] It follows that this was a living awareness of sin.[26] The second half of the verse makes this clear: "before me" here has the connotation of "opposite me, against me," that is, confrontation.[27] The mention of "always" emphasizes that sin is not temporary, but continual.[28] Thus, David characterizes himself as a person who sins and, by extension, all of humanity could be characterized that way.

[24]See J. H. Eaton, *Kingship and the Psalms* (SBT 2nd Series, 32; Naperville, IL: Allenson, n.d.) esp. 72, 187.

[25]Dalglish, *Psalm Fifty-One*, 104.

[26]Delitzsch, *Psalms*, 2. 135.

[27]Snaith, *The Seven Psalms*, 52.

[28]Dalglish, *Psalm Fifty-One*, 105.

V 6a: The prominence of "against you and you only" highlights the fact that all sin is directed against God. This may seem somewhat strange since David's sin with Bathsheba also involved the death of her husband Uriah; nevertheless, this statement is the "only adequate doctrine of the final bearing of sin."[29] All sin is against God.

V 6b: The word למען, which usually means "in order that"[30] indicating aim or purpose is a problem here. Dalglish adds that the concern here is not that David must acknowledge his sin so that God might remain righteous, as in a theodicy; instead he sees the phrase as elliptical, implying that when God judges, then he will be just. But the argument in either case is that sin, after it is identified as directed against God, now is contrasted with the nature of God.

V 7: This reflection upon God's nature turns the psalmist to consider his own nature; so he states that he was even conceived in sin. J. K. Zink enumerates five different interpretations of this verse, but at least "the corporate solidarity and its propensity toward sin is clearly recognized."[31] The sinful origin of humanity after Adam is in view as the psalmist's statements transcend his personal realm. Somehow, "natural generation inevitably produces corrupt human nature."[32] God's just nature and man's sinful origin are set in contrast. We have moved from man's and God's reaction to sin in vv 5 and 6a to the underlying reason: God hates sin because he is just, and man sins because he is a sinner.

Thus, the key to an acknowledgment of sin is first, the admission that sin is directed primarily against God, and second, that this enmity has its foundation in the opposite natures of God and man, which are just and sinful respectively.

Human impotence

In the first section of the psalm the need for forgiveness is shown by the exhibition of the greatness of man's sin. Thus, man is dependent on God for forgiveness as well as the subsequent restoration of relationships. This restoration deals first with the heart, both with regard to cleansing it (vv 12–13) and with regard to directing it toward God's desires, and second, with the praise that is due to God; having cleansed the heart, the soul can offer up praise to God.

Vv 3–4, 8–9: The plea for forgiveness is based both on the recognition of man's sin (vv 5–7) and on the fact that God desires truth in

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[29] Harrison, "A Study of Psalm 51," 32.

[30] BDB, 775.

[31] J. K. Zink, "Uncleanness and Sin: A Study of Job XIV and Psalm LI 7," *VT* 17 (1967) 361.

[32] John Murray, *The Imputation of Adam's Sin* (Phillipsburg, NJ: Presbyterian and Reformed, 1959) 91.

man (v 8). The plea for forgiveness is so urgent that it is repeated in
v 11. The terminology used, such as cleansing with hyssop (v 9), has
ritual overtones, but the main thrust of these verses is ethical. The key
observation for our purposes is that the writer constantly appeals to
God's grace. In v 3, the preposition בְּ is twice repeated in chiastic
structure so that the focus is on divine grace.[33] And it is according to
his grace that forgiveness can be expected or requested. In other
words, although the need for forgiveness is based on man's sinfulness,
the granting of forgiveness is dependent on God's grace, not on how
much man needs it. Thus God's sovereignty is emphasized in the way
he grants forgiveness.

Vv 12–13, 18–19: The plea for a clean heart, contrasted with a
request not to be separated from God, again shows the need for
action on God's part. The heart is one's innermost being. The verb
ברא, of which only God is agent,[34] shows the necessity of divine
action. Says Calvin:

> He does not merely assert that his heart and spirit were weak, requiring
> divine assistance, but that they must remain destitute of all purity and
> rectitude till these be communicated from above.[35]

It may appear that v 19, with its emphasis on a broken and contrite
heart, shows the possibility for human initiative. But note that 'con-
trite' is translated from the same root as 'broken' in v 10; the concept
is one of being bruised or crushed.[36] Thus, both נשבר ('broken') and
נדכה ('contrite') describe one suffering an action rather than acting;
both are semantically passive concepts. Thus, being broken and being
bruised is not a result of human initiative, but depends on divine
action; it is God's task. David leaves no doubt that only by divine
initiative can we possess a clean spirit.

Vv 14–17: As argued earlier, the request for a clean spirit forms
the basis for the request to have one's mouth opened to praise God.
One must recognize that the restoration of the soul is not the final
goal. It is absolutely necessary, but the final goal of restoration is to
restore to God the praise that is his due. Thus, a request for forgive-
ness and restoration must, according to biblical example, be followed
by a request to have a tongue, lips, and mouth (vv 16b–17) to praise
God. It is not human initiative that accomplishes God's praise; it is
God who must open our mouths if we are to praise him.

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[33] Dalglish, *Psalm Fifty-One*, 84.

[34] Henry C. Thiessen, *Lectures in Systematic Theology*, rev. by V. D. Doerksen
(Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1979) 116, citing Davis, *Paradise to Prison*, 40–41.

[35] John Calvin, *Commentary on the Book of Psalms*, trans. J. Anderson (reprint;
Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1949) 2. 299.

[36] Harrison, "A Study of Psalm 51," 36.

In summary, the whole process of dealing with sin, from forgiveness through restoration to praise to God, is ultimately and utterly dependent on God. Man is completely impotent, or at least passive, in making any step toward restoring the relationship with God.

Effects of Sin on Man

The three different words for sin vv 3–4, פשע, עון, and חטא, usually have different nuances, but here in parallel they indicate the totality of sin in which man is involved. Similarly, the three different words used for forgiveness indicate the complete forgiveness requested. Both observations show that sin is not a superficial characteristic of man but rather goes to the core.

It is worth repeating that sin soils one's conscience (v 5) and that it stains man from his very beginnings (v 7). Although v 10 does not necessarily imply physical effects of sin,[37] it clearly shows that one's emotional state suffers from it.[38] Even so, the psychomatic effects of sin should not be ruled out. V 13 highlights how sin may affect one's relationship with God. Though never losing one's salvation,[39] the fellowship could be severed. God restores to us not only the cleanness of heart but also the praises that are his due. This implies that sin has dishonored God in taking away praise from him.[40] In fact, David's sin with Bathsheba had caused others to blaspheme God (2 Sam 12:14). The sacrifices had apparently degenerated into empty ritual, which is why God would not be pleased with them. Still, they soothed many a conscience, thinking that this deed corrected one's standing before God.

PSALM 32

As with Psalm 51, varying purposes have been proposed for Psalm 32. Drijvers holds that it is a psalm of "thanksgiving for a cure from illness."[41] McConnell believes that David's purpose was "to demonstrate the importance of confession/forgiveness in one's relationship with Yahweh."[42] Craigie suggests various translations of the term משכיל: "to teach; meditation; psalm of understanding; or skillful

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[37]Cf. Dalglish, *Psalm Fifty-One*, 145.

[38]See Louis Berkhof, *Systematic Theology*, 4th ed. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1939, reprinted 1981) 485.

[39]Harrison, "A Study of Psalm 51," 35.

[40]Ibid.

[41]Pius Drijvers, *The Psalms: Their Structure and Meaning* (New York: Herder and Herder, 1965) 146.

[42]Oren G. McConnell, "An Exegetical Study of Psalm 32," unpublished Th. M. thesis (Dallas Theological Seminary, 1974) 17.

psalm."[43] He recognizes the presence of elements of thanksgiving as
well as wisdom motifs, so he identifies it as a psalm of thanksgiving
with literary adaptations to wisdom.[44] Yet almost all suggestions lack
enough information to be sure of the purpose of the psalm. Let us
consider first the divisions of the psalm and then its unity.

Structural Analysis: Divisions of the Psalm

Psalm 32, like Psalm 51, divides into two sections. Notice the
differences in terminology: vv 1–5 contain words like חטא, עון, פשע,
and concepts like groaning, confessions, and misery; vv 6–11, on the
other hand, deal with concepts like teaching, counseling, trust, rejoic-
ing, and praying.

In addition, v 6 starts with the strong logical construct על־זאת,
"on this account."[45] This certainly indicates major transition between
two divisions, vv 1–5 and vv 6–11.

However, v 7 seems to upset this pattern. V 6 starts out clearly
with the idea of exhortation in mind, but v 7 returns to the sphere of
a relationship with God. In vv 1–5, the dialogue is carried on between
the psalmist and God, and the same is true for v 7. But in vv 6–11,
with the exception of v 7, the dialogue is not with God but rather
with the reader. Thus it appears that v 7 belongs with vv 1–5 instead
of with vv 6–11. Now we have the following divisions: vv 1–5, 7 and
vv 6, 8–11, a situation similar to Psalm 51. Vv 6 and 7 may thus be
transitional, although the presence of the strong conjunction in v 6
suggests that the verses may be more than just a transition.

The unity of the divisions can also be demonstrated internally by
the literary feature of inclusion. Both vv 1 and 5 contain חטא, פשע,
עון, and כסה.[46] Vv 6 and 10 both contain the words חסד and רבים.[47]
V 7 is a transitional verse and contains the word סבב, which recurs in
v 10, although the general form of v 7 corresponds closer to vv 1–5.

Within the first division the movement of thought is as follows.
Vv 1–2 represent an exclamation of blessing in the third person singu-
lar. This marks them off from vv 3f. which are written in the first
person singular. In addition, vv 3 and 4 start with the conjunction כי,
which indicates a transition. The כי of v 3 may be interpreted as a
time indicator, "when,"[48] rather than an expression of cause or result.
But the recurrence of the conjunction at the beginning of v 4 shows

[43]P. C. Craigie, *Psalm 1–50* (Word Biblical Commentary, 19; Waco, TX: Word,
1983) 269.
[44]Ibid., 265.
[45]BDB, 262.
[46]Craigie, *Psalms 1–50*, 285.
[47]Ibid.
[48]BDB, 473.

that the relationship also has logical components. Thus, vv 1–2 appear to stand at the head of the first division.

The rest of the division, vv 3–5, 7, can be subdivided into two sections. This is mainly done on the semantic level. There is a clear contrast between vv 3–4 and vv 5 and 7. Vv 3–4 mention concepts like silence, judgment, and misery, while vv 5 and 7 contain the opposite concepts, those of confession, forgiveness, and deliverance. Thus, the first division is made up of three sections: vv 1–2, 3–4, and 5 and 7.

The second division is structured differently. V 6 mentions the theme of deliverance and includes an exhortation to pray. Vv 8–11 also contain an exhortation to turn to God and mention the benefits thereof. V 6, then, is the introduction to vv 8–11.

V 8 starts with the declaration that David will teach sinners about the mercies of God. The rest of this section appears to be the content of the teaching. V 9 metaphorically warns those who do not turn to God; v 10 uses the format of a proverb to state the basic principle on which the exhortations are based; and v 11 repeats the principles of v 9 in a positive manner. Thus, this second division is structured around David's desire to teach others about God's forgiveness.

Psalm 32, then, much like Psalm 51, turns out to be highly structured. However, there is a marked difference in the prominence of the contrast in Psalm 32, namely between vv 3–4 and 5 and 7, and between vv 9 and 11. Such prominent contrasts are absent from Psalm 51 as a major feature of the structure (which is not to say that the psalm contains no contrasts). This analysis is presented in Chart II.

Reconstruction of the Meaning: The Unity of the Psalm

The theme or thesis statement of the first division is found in vv 1–2. As previously mentioned, vv 3ff. are linked with the first two verses by a logical connective, which at its first occurrence takes on a temporal meaning. The reasoning seems to be that vv 3ff. explain the grounds of the statement of vv 1–2. Given the contrast between vv 3–4 and vv 5 and 7, this suggests that the grounds are considered in a twofold manner, negatively and positively. Hence, the theme for this division reads "happy is the man whose sin is forgiven."

The theme of the second division is found in v 11. As stated, v 6 embodies the introduction to this division, while v 8 gives the division its major structural feature. But though v 8 structures the division, it is not the key statement; the content of what David desires to teach takes precedence over the desire.

Vv 9 and 11 stand in contrast to each other, with v 10 supplying the basis for the exhortation of vv 9 and 11. V 10 almost functions

Constituent Organization

Psalm 32:1–11
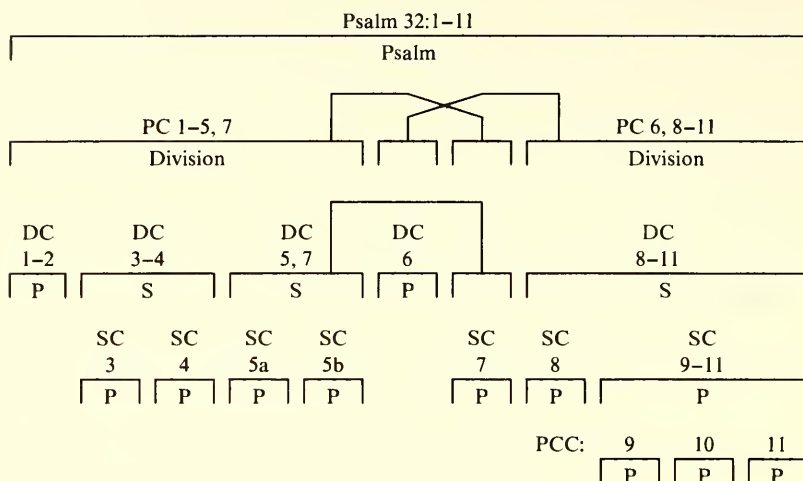
DC = Division Constituent
P = Paragraph
PC = Psalm Constituent
PCC = Paragraph Cluster Constituent
PCl = Paragraph Cluster
S = Section
SC = Section Constituent

CHART II: Overview of Psalm 32

like a summary and for that reason may appear to be the most prom-
inent. But in this case, v 10 functions more like a transition from the
negative exhortation (warning) to the positive exhortation. Since the
declared intent of these verses is to teach and since the teaching
focuses on action more than knowledge ("the way which you should
go," v 8), the final positive exhortation is best identified as the thesis
statement of this division. Hence, the phrasing of the theme of the
division is "rejoice in the Lord you righteous ones," with its contrast
added in parentheses.

The general flow of thought in the psalm moves from the origi-
nal statement "happy is the man whose sin is forgiven" to the exhor-
tation for the righteous to rejoice in the Lord. It is remarkable that
the man who needs forgiveness in vv 1–2 is identified with the righ-
teous and upright one in v 11. How does this transition take place?

Two factors determine the relationship between the divisions.
The most obvious one is the strong conjunction עַל־זֹאת beginning v 6.
This indicates that a logical conclusion is being drawn from what
precedes. The relationship is one of grounds on which a conclusion is

based. The conclusion is then the prominent part and functions as the head of the body.

Second, an exhortation usually has more force than the experience on which the exhortation is based. Now, vv 3–5, 7 mainly relate David's experience before and after his confession, so this is not the primary focus of the psalm. Rather, the declaration of the intent to teach dominates the psalm and focuses the attention on v 11. This line of evidence also supports the prominence of the second division.

Thus, the first and second divisions are related to each other as grounds and conclusion, experience and exhortation. The experience is only mentioned as support for the exhortation, so that the goal of the psalm is the teaching of sinners about the way they should go—to rejoice in the Lord.

Theological Analysis: The Contents of the Psalm

The main thrust of the psalm consists of its teaching on the need for confession. But two other areas are significant elements.

The need for confession

The psalm describes life as a path to walk, as the way in which we should go (v 8). In this path there are two contrasting options. The use of contrast shows the pedagogical genius of the psalmist, because the options are either to remain in one's sin, separate from God, or to confess one's sin and have fellowship with God. The choice is either/or; no other option is given. The purpose is, of course, "to point out the path of true happiness to sinners."[49]

Option 1 is to remain silent about one's sin and not to acknowledge it to God. This results in a "roaring" all day long (v 3). This is soon recognized as judgment from God, and again the sorrow is described, but this time more vividly. The vitality of the sinner is compared to the earth, cracking under the heat of the summer. Thus, Option 1 is clearly understood as undesirable because it incurs God's judgment.

But in the exhortation, this is still elaborated. Here the sinner is compared with the stubborn horse and mule. The sinner's silence is not due to ignorance, but to rebellion. On the other hand, these beasts are also animals which have no understanding. So although the sinner may be in rebellion against God, he also has to cope with unclear thinking (cf. Eph 4:17–19). However, the horse and the mule

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[49] Craigie, *Psalms 1–50*, 268.

Thematic Outline of Psalm 32

Psalm 32:1–11 (Psalm) [Happy is the man whose sin is forgiven. Therefore,] [do not be stubborn, but] rejoice in the Lord you righteous ones.

> **Psalm Constituent** 1–5, 7 (Division) (Role: grounds of 6, 8–11) Happy is the man whose sin is forgiven.
>
>> **Division Constituent** 1–2 (Paragraph) (Role: Head of 1–5, 7) Happy is the man whose sin is forgiven.
>>
>> **Division Constituent** 3–4 (Section) (Role: grounds [neg.] for 1–2) I was silent so [because of judgment] I was in misery.
>>
>>> **Section Constituent** 3 (Paragraph) (Role: Head of 3–4) I was silent, so I was in misery.
>>>
>>> **Section Constituent** 4 (Paragraph) (Role: grounds of 3) [Because of my silence] God judged me, so that I was in misery.
>>
>> **Division Constituent** 5, 7 (Section) (Role: grounds [pos.] for 1–2) God forgave my sins [because of confession]. [As a result, God is my Deliverer.]
>>
>>> **Section Constituent** 5a (Paragraph) (Role: grounds of 5b) I confessed my sin.
>>>
>>> **Section Constituent** 5b (Paragraph) (Roles: Head of 5, 7; condition for 7) God forgave my sins [because of confession].
>>>
>>> **Section Constituent** 7 (Paragraph) (Role: consequence of 5b) [As a consequence] God is my Deliverer.

> **Psalm Constituent** 6, 8–11 (Paragraph) (Role: Head of the Body) [Do not be stubborn, but] rejoice in the Lord you righteous ones.
>
>> **Division Constituent** 6 (Paragraph) (Role: introduction to 8–11) Pray to God and be safe.
>>
>> **Division Constituent** 8–11 (Section) (Role: Head of 6, 8–11) [Do not be stubborn, but] rejoice in the Lord you righteous ones.
>>
>>> **Section Constituent** 8 (Paragraph) (Role: orienter to 9–11) I will teach you what to do.
>>>
>>> **Section Constituent** 9–11 (Paragraph Cluster) (Role: Head of 8–11) [Do not be stubborn but] rejoice in the Lord you righteous ones.
>>>
>>>> **Paragraph Cluster Constituent** 9 (Paragraph) (Role: Head$_1$ [neg.] of 9–11) Do not be stubborn.
>>>>
>>>> **Paragraph Cluster Constituent** 10 (Paragraph) (Role: summary of 9, 11) He who trusts God receives his lovingkindness.
>>>>
>>>> **Paragraph Cluster Constituent** 11 (Paragraph) (Role: Head$_2$ [pos.] of 9–11) Rejoice in the Lord you righteous ones.

can be brought near by bit and bridle—if this is the right interpretation of v 9c.[50] Likewise, God can use sorrows, which are the lot of the wicked (v 10), to draw the sinner to himself.

Option 2 is to acknowledge one's sin and confess it before God. The concept is repeated three times in v 5. This shows that it is not a formal rehearsal of a list of sins, but a thorough exposure of one's sin before God. God responds with forgiveness, and thus deliverance is experienced (v 7).

In the exhortation, this too is expanded. Here, confession is identified with trust in the Lord, highlighting the importance of a right heart attitude in confession. As a result, the sinner is now called a righteous and upright person who may delight in the mercies of the Lord (v 11). Option 2 is the desirable one because it is the proper response to God's חסד.

Universality of sin

In presenting the options, the psalmist does not leave the reader with any choice but to be silent or to confess. The fact that each reader has sin about which to be silent or vocal is assumed. All need confession.

Just as in Psalm 51, the three most frequent words for sin here are, פשע, עון and, חטא (vv 1–2; 5). In vv 1–2 these words indicate that man's life is involved in all kinds of sin, and that sin stains all of his life. In v 5 these words show that all kinds of sin are subject to God's forgiveness; there is no sin which cannot be forgiven. Sin may be universal, but there is always hope in God's all comprehensive forgiveness.

Human responsibility

The exhortation in this psalm is a plea for human action: one must turn to God. Thus, man's responsibility is emphasized, in contrast to Psalm 51, where God's sovereign grace was emphasized. But God's sovereignty is not left out of the picture here. The fact that a forgiven person can be counted blessed (vv 1–2) implies that God has been at work in that person; judgment in v 5 testifies to God's sovereignty. Similarly, the following concepts indicate aspects of God's sovereign grace: God is a hiding place (v 7); he surrounds the psalmist with songs of deliverance (v 7); he surrounds those who trust him with lovingkindness (v 10); trusting in the Lord implies that he is sovereign (v 10); and God sovereignly uses misery to lead people to himself (vv 3a, 4a, 9). So human responsibility is set in the context of

[50] Ibid., 40.

divine sovereign grace. Therefore, this responsibility is not autonomous, but must be exercised in dependence upon God, submitting to him and acknowledging that his judgments are just. This is a responsibility of faith, not of works.

CONCLUSION

Four propositions summarize the main theological points drawn from these two psalms: (1) Man is utterly, always, from conception, and in every aspect of his relationship to God, sinful. (2) Man is wholly dependent on God for forgiveness and restoration before he can enjoy an undisturbed relationship with God. (3) Man's responsibility is humbly and in faith to confess his sins to God and to acknowledge that his judgments are just. (4) Man, once forgiven and restored, is to be happy about what the Lord has done for him, and to extol his virtues.

APPENDIX A

THE NEED FOR STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS

Human thought is structured; the human mind cannot function in utter chaos or at random—although admittedly it is not always flawlessly organized. It follows that human writings will usually evidence a certain structure, which will vary according to the language and culture of the writer. The exegete should consider such structure in his interpretation of the Bible.

Part of this task can be accomplished by grammatical and syntactical observation. But since writings consist of more than a random series of grammatical or syntactical phrases, there is a wider field of analysis. This wider field may be called "paragraph" or "section," depending on the size, but if a whole document is analyzed it is convenient to speak about a discourse (a more technical title for a larger unit of communication, not for the common concept of dialogue). Analyzing the structure of such a discourse may be called "structural analysis." Thus structural analysis accomplishes on a broader level what grammatical and syntactical analysis accomplishes on a more detailed level.

The concerns of this method are to reconstruct the flow of the argument by an objective methodology which recognizes structural devices such as chiasm, repetition of key terms, and important structural markers. Unfortunately, the importance of discourse structure

for the understanding of the Bible has not been as fully understood and used by exegetes as it might be. Thus, help on the structure of a passage is rarely available in the standard exegetical and critical commentaries,[51] though the value of the method is being increasingly recognized.

This method can be very useful. It gives the exegete a more objective tool to help him understand the flow of thought in a particular document. Such an objective tool in my judgment, is sorely needed since the task of contextual analysis is often approached rather intuitively. And even though our intuitions may sometimes be right, a more objective method is needed to bridge the linguistic, cultural, and religious chasm between the ancient world and our own, and to make certain that our reconstruction of the meaning is *extracted* from the text, not *imposed* upon it.

[51]Callow, *Second Thessalonians*, 15.

Understanding the Difficult Words of Jesus

WESTON W. FIELDS

Understanding the Difficult Words of Jesus, by David Bivin and Roy Blizzard. Arcadia, CA: Makor Publishing, 1983. Pp. 172. Paper. No price.

It was during my sabbatical year in Jerusalem that I first became acquainted with David Bivin, Robert Lindsey, and other students and colleagues of David Flusser of the Hebrew University. Thus it was with considerable anticipation that I began reading this book by David Bivin and Roy Blizzard, which popularizes some of the results of a whole generation of research into the linguistic and literary background of the synoptic Gospels by Prof. Flusser, Dr. Lindsey, and their associates in Jerusalem. The ideas of the book are generally good, and I can be enthusiastic about most of them. The informal style and largely undocumented format in which these ideas are presented, however, may for many detract from their ready acceptance.

The Milieu and Burden of the Book

It is important to understand that this book was born out of a combination of circumstances which cannot be found anywhere except in Israel and which could not have been found even in Israel only a few years ago. These factors include a *rapprochement* between Jewish and Christian scholars in a completely Jewish University, freedom of study unhampered by religious hierarchical control, the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, and a growing appreciation for their bearing on NT study, and most importantly, the fact that gospel research in Jerusalem is carried on in spoken and written Hebrew very similar in many respects to the Hebrew idiom (Mishnaic Hebrew)[1] of

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[1]See, for example, Jack Fellman, "The Linguistic Status of Mishnaic Hebrew," *JNSL* 5 (1977) 21–22; Chaim Rabin, "The Historical Background of Qumran Hebrew," *Scripta Hierosolymitana*, vol. 4: *Aspects of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. by Chaim Rabin and Yigael Yadin (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1958) 144–61; and W. Chomsky, "What Was the Jewish Vernacular During the Second Commonwealth?" *JQR* 42 (1951–52) 193–212; Jonas C. Greenfield, "The Languages of Palestine, 200 B.C.E.–200 C.E." in *Jewish Languages, Theme and Variations*, ed. by Herbert H. Paper (Cambridge, MA: Association for Jewish Studies, 1978) 143–54; Herbert C. Youtie, "Response," in *Jewish Languages, Theme and Variations*, 155–57; Joshua Blau, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1976), 1; E. Y. Kutscher, "Hebrew Language: The Dead Sea Scrolls," *Encyclopedia Judaica* 16: cols. 1583–90; *Idem*, "Hebrew Language: Mishnaic Hebrew," *Encyclopedia Judaica* 16: cols. 1590–1607.

Jesus' day. All of this, moreover, is accomplished in the midst of growing recognition among NT scholars that the key to understanding a number of sayings in the gospels has been lost, unless one finds it in Jewish and Hebrew sources.

The more technical background of *Understanding the Difficult Words of Jesus* is to be found in scholarly literature authored by Flusser, Safrai, and others at Hebrew University,[2] but especially important as a prelude or companion to this book are two works by Robert L. Lindsey, pastor of Baptist House in Jerusalem for the past forty years. Accordingly, discussion of Lindsey's work is integrated here with the suggestions of Bivin and Blizzard. The first of Lindsey's works is entitled *A Hebrew Translation of the Gospel of Mark* (with a foreword by Flusser),[3] and the second a pamphlet entitled simply, *The Gospels.*[4]

The burden of these books may be summarized in a few propositions, which not only go counter in some respects to the prevailing wisdom of NT scholarship outside of Israel, but also represent something perhaps more revolutionary than might first appear. These propositions are:

—Hebrew was the primary spoken and written medium of the majority
   of the Jews in Israel during the time of Jesus
—Jesus therefore did most if not all of his teaching in Hebrew

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[2]Many of these articles are available in English. A sampling of Professor Flusser's writings follows (some of them are English summaries of Hebrew articles): *Jesus* (New York: Herder and Herder, 1969); "Jesus," *Encyclopedia Judaica* 10: cols. 10–17; "Martyrdom in Second Temple Judaism and in Early Christianity," *Immanuel* 1 (1972) 37–38; "The Liberation of Jerusalem—A Prophecy in the New Testament," *Immanuel* 1 (1972) 35–36; "The Last Supper and the Essenes," *Immanuel* 2 (1973) 23–27; "Jewish Roots of the Liturgical Trishagion," *Immanuel* 3 (1973–74) 37–43; "Did You Ever See a Lion Working as a Porter?" *Immanuel* 3 (1973/74) 61–64; "Hebrew Improperia," *Immanuel* 4 (1974) 51–54; "Hillel's Self-Awareness and Jesus," *Immanuel* 4 (1974) 31–36; "Two Anti-Jewish Montages in Matthew," *Immanuel* 5 (1975) 37–45; "Theses on the Emergence of Christianity from Judaism," *Immanuel* 5 (1975) 74–84; "The Crucified One and the Jews," *Immanuel* 7 (1977) 25–37; "Do You Prefer New Wine?" *Immanuel* 9 (1979) 26–31; "The Hubris of the Antichrist in a Fragment from Qumran," *Immanuel* 10 (1980) 31–37; "At the Right Hand of the Power," *Immanuel* 14 (1982) 42–46; "Foreword" in Robert Lisle Lindsey, *A Hebrew Translation of the Gospel of Mark* (Jerusalem: Dugith, 1973) 1–8. Flusser and Safrai together: "The Slave of Two Masters," *Immanuel* 6 (1976) 30–33; "Jerusalem in the Literature of the Second Temple Period," *Immanuel* 6 (1976) 43–45; "Some Notes on the Beatitudes (Matthew 5:3–12; Luke 6:20–26)," *Immanuel* 8 (1978) 37–47. "Who Sanctified the Beloved in the Womb," *Immanuel* 11 (1980) 46–55; "The Essene Doctrine of Hypostatis and Rabbi Meir," *Immanuel* 14 (1982) 47–57. Safrai alone: "The Synagogues South of Mt. Judah," *Immanuel* 3 (1973–1974) 44–50; "Pilgrimage to Jerusalem at the Time of the Second Temple," *Immanuel* 5 (1975) 51–62.

[3]Robert Lisle Lindsey, *A Hebrew Translation of the Gospel of Mark* (Jerusalem: Dugith, 1973).

[4]Robert Lisle Lindsey, *The Gospels* (Jerusalem: Dugith, 1972). Also important are his articles "A Modified Two-Document Theory of the Synoptic Dependence and Interdependence," *NovT* 6 (1963) 239–63; and "Did Jesus Say Verily or Amen?" *Christian News from Israel* 24 (1973).

—the original accounts of Jesus' life were composed in Hebrew (as one might conclude anyway from early church history)[5]

—the Greek gospels which have come down to us represent a third or fourth stage in the *written*[6] transmission of accounts of the life of Jesus

—Luke was the first gospel written, not Mark[7]

—the key to understanding many of the difficult or even apparently unintelligible passages in the gospels is to be found not primarily in a better understanding of Greek, but in retroversion to and translation of the Hebrew behind the Greek (made possible by the often transparently literalistic translation methods of the Greek translators).

Although many of the same ideas have been proposed for some time on the basis of Aramaic NT originals,[8] the insertion of Hebrew into the picture is becoming more and more accepted, especially among speakers of Modern Hebrew, perhaps because a conversational knowledge of Hebrew makes it

[5]Among early Christian writers who speak on the subject there is unanimous agreement that Matthew wrote his gospel in Hebrew. The testimonies include Papias (Fragment 6); Irenaeus (*Against Heresies* 3.1); Origen (Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History* 6:25); Eusebius (*Ecclesiastical History* 3:24); and Jerome (*Lives of Illustrious Men* 3).

[6]Lindsey, *The Gospels*, 4; *A Hebrew Translation of the Gospel of Mark*, xix–xx.

[7]This is developed much more at length by Lindsey on the basis of the order of the stories or units in the Synoptics. There are 77 units found in all three of the gospels. 60 of these are in the same order in all three gospels. Mark contains 1 unit unknown to Matthew and Luke; Matthew contains 27 units unknown to Mark and Luke; Luke contains 46 units unknown to Mark and Matthew. These "extra" units occur, usually in groups, in between the 60 units which the Synoptics share in common. Most remarkable is the fact that Matthew and Luke contain 36 units which are unknown in Mark, "yet only in one of these units do Matthew and Luke agree as to where to place them among the 60-unit outline they share with Mark" (*The Gospels*, 6). Lindsey continues: "When we put these and many other facts together we see (1) that it is improbable that either Matthew or Luke saw the writing of the other and (2) that Mark's Gospel somehow stands between Matthew and Luke causing much of the agreement of story-order and wording we see in the Synoptic Gospels. We also see that whatever be the order of our Gospel dependence it is probable that each had at least one source unknown to us" (Ibid., 6). Lindsey suggests that it is the vocabulary of Mark that is the key to priority. The unique story units show that Mark used either Matthew or Luke. The book which shows uniquely Markan vocabulary was probably dependent upon Mark and the one which does not contain Mark's unique vocabulary probably preceded Mark. It is Matthew that carries over many of Mark's unique expressions, while they are usually missing from Luke. Hence, the order of composition seems to be Luke, Mark, Matthew (Ibid., 6–7). The numbers in the statistics and quotations above have been slightly corrected to coincide with those in *A Hebrew Translation of the Gospel of Mark*, pp. xi–xiii.

[8]Cf. Gustaf Dalman, *The Words of Jesus Considered in the Light of Post-Biblical Jewish Writings and the Aramaic Language*, trans. by D. M. Kay (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1902); Matthew Black, *An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts* (3rd ed.; Oxford: Clarendon, 1967); and Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *Essays on the Semitic Background of the New Testament* (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1971); and *Idem*, "The Contribution of Qumran Aramaic to the Study of the New Testament," *NTS* 20 (1974) 382–407.

easier to see the Hebrew syntax behind a document. Some of the other ideas are old ones now revived, and some of the propositions, especially those of Lindsey are quite new. At first glance, some evangelicals will undoubtedly be inclined to say that such an approach represents something dangerous for or incongruous with certain modern conceptions of inspiration and formulations of inerrancy, especially when taken together with the inferences which are commonly drawn out of them by American Christians. But such fears would be unfounded, and objections based on such misgivings should be held in check, until it becomes clear whether the problem is with the theory of Hebrew backgrounds for the Synoptics (to which one might easily add the first half of Acts and the book of Hebrews, although Bivin and Blizzard do not), or with the theories of composition and authorship and notions of literary convention that are sometimes attached to accepted notions of the inspiration of these ancient documents of the Church.

The Language of Jesus

Bivin and Blizzard first take up the question of the language of Jesus. This question is not settled as easily as one might expect from reading the unfortunate translation of Ἑβραΐς and Ἑβραϊστί as "Aramaic" in the *NIV* (John 5:2; 19:13, 17, 20; 20:16; Acts 21:40; 22:2; 26:14). One would have expected a little more reticence in changing the text on the part of these particular translators. In their defense, however, it must be said that they are following in part the suggestion of the Greek lexicon available at that time,[9] but the more recent lexicon[10] which was published the year after the complete *NIV*, adds that "Grintz, *JBL* 79, '60, 32–47 holds that some form of Hebrew was commonly spoken." Had either Gingrich and Danker or the translators of the *NIV* been aware of the large amount of literature published between 1960 and 1978 which supports Grintz's contention, they undoubtedly would have taken more seriously the NT's statement that these words were *Hebrew*.[11] It is a little unfair, for example, that the *NIV* takes "Rabboni" in John 20:16 as "Aramaic" when the text says that it is Hebrew, and it is in fact equally as good Hebrew as Aramaic.[12] Even if it were Aramaic, it undoubtedly could have been described as Hebrew as legitimately as "Abba" and "Imma" can be

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[9]William F. Arndt and F. Wilbur Gingrich, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* (A translation and adaptation of Walter Bauer's *Griechisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch zu den Schriften des Neuen Testaments und der übrigen urchristlichen Literatur*, fourth revised and augmented edition, 1952; Chicago: University of Chicago, 1957) 212.

[10]William F. Arndt and F. Wilbur Gingrich, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* (Second edition revised and augmented by F. Wilbur Gingrich and Frederick W. Danker from Walter Bauer's fifth edition, 1958; Chicago: University of Chicago, 1979) 213.

[11]See nn. 1, 2, and 3 of this article for a listing of some of this literature.

[12]M. Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim, The Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature*, (reprint; Brooklyn: P. Shalom, 1967) 1440. Josephus seems to use "language of the fathers" *J.W.* 5.2) and "Hebrew" (*J.W.* 6.2.1) to refer to Hebrew and not Aramaic as the spoken language of the people during the siege of Jerusalem.

today, though in fact these last two may also be described as "Aramaic loan words." *NIV* reverts to "Hebrew" for Εβραϊστί in Rev 9:11 and 16:16, where there is no choice but to understand the words "Abaddon" (a synonym for hell in Rabbinic literature)[13] and "Armageddon" as Hebrew. Somewhat less defensible is the *NIV*'s insertion of the Aramaic words "Ελωι, Ελωι" in Matthew's account of the crucifixion (27:46), with little important textual support.[14] These translations of the *NIV* show the bias which Bivin and Blizzard oppose.

Their first chapter reminds the reader that 78% of the biblical text as we have it is in Hebrew (most of the OT). If one grants to Bivin and Blizzard for the moment their assertion about Hebrew originals for the gospels and adds to the OT the highly Hebraic portions of the NT (Matthew, Mark, Luke, and Acts 1:1–15:35, which together constitute 40% of the NT), the percentage of the biblical material with a Hebrew background rises to 87% (subtracting the 1% that is in Aramaic in Daniel and Ezra). When one further adds the 176 quotations from the OT in John and from Acts 15:36 to the end of the NT, this percentage rises to over 90%. To this Bivin and Blizzard might have added the entire book of Hebrews, which early Christian writers who speak on the subject agree was written by Paul in Hebrew and translated into Greek either by Luke or Clement of Rome.[15] This would bring the percentage of NT books with a Hebrew background even closer to 100%.[16] All of this leads

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[13]Ibid., 3.

[14]The textual support in favor of the Aramaic phrase is: א B 33 cop[sa,bo] eth, but as Metzger points out, this was undoubtedly an assimilation to the Aramaic reading in Mark 15:34. The manuscripts are more divided on the spelling in Greek of the transliterated Hebrew למה (why?) as well as שְׁבַקְתַּנִי (forsaken), with Codex Bezae characteristically giving a completely Hebrew reading of the quotation from Ps 22:1, ζαφθανει, representing the Hebrew עֲזַבְתַּנִי. Thus the *NIV* strikes out on its own here, rejecting the reading of the Byz family, most other manuscripts, and the UBS text as well (Bruce M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament* [New York: United Bible Societies, 1971] 70, 119–20).

[15]Eusebius speaks of this tradition several times, indicating his preference for Clement of Rome as the translator on the basis of literary similarity with 1 Clement, but also recording that there was a strong tradition in favor of Luke. Both Clement of Alexandria and Origen concur with this tradition that the Greek Hebrews is a translation (Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, 3:37; 6:14; 6:25).

[16]To this many would add the Gospel of John. Cf. C. F. Burney, *The Aramaic Origin of the Fourth Gospel* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1922) and *The Poetry of Our Lord* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1925). What is proposed here for Aramaic might even more cogently be proposed for Hebrew. In addition to this, even W. F. Howard (James Hope Moulton, *A Grammar of New Testament Greek*, vol. II: *Accidence and Word Formation*, by W. F. Howard [Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1920] 484) says that "the solution of the tangled problem of the language of the Apocalypse is said to be this: (a) The author writes in Greek, thinks in Hebrew; (b) he has taken over some Greek sources already translated from the Hebrew; (c) he has himself translated and adapted some Hebrew sources." On the basis of "the instances of mistranslation corrected by retroversion" Howard leans toward the latter two suggestions. However, it appears that, when new advances in understanding the Hebrew of the period as well as early historical references about the composition of the Apocalypse are taken into account, the first of these suggested solutions is nearer the mark. The very Hebraic style of Revelation is most transparent.

rather inescapably to the conclusion that Hebrew is as important for the study of the NT as it is for the study of the OT (though certainly not to the exclusion of other languages and cultures which were influential in the period of the Second Temple).

It is interesting that the authors connect the theories of Markan priority and Aramaic backgrounds as well as the idea that the Greek Gospels represent "late, faulty transmission of oral reports recorded by the Greek speaking Church far removed from the unsophisticated Judean and Galilean scene" (p. 26) with "liberal" scholarship. It might be more to the point to say that the first two are almost universally assumed by NT scholarship of every brand, while at the least the oral aspect is tacitly assumed by many, both "liberal" and "conservative" alike. Bivin and Blizzard imply (though the point is not made as forcefully as it could be) that the gospels we have rest on *written* records, and that these records were made in the land of Jesus in the language of Jesus by people surrounded by the culture and religion of Jesus very shortly after the life of Jesus. This, in their opinion, makes the study of Hellenism and things Hellenistic (not to speak of Roman language, religion, and culture) very secondary indeed for the understanding of the gospels.[17] Of course, it must first be established that Hebrew was the primary spoken medium of Jesus and his followers. Certainly Aramaic was used, but not as much as it was four or five centuries earlier by the returning captives from Aramaic-speaking Babylon. Aramaic was the language of the upper class and was well-known and used among scholars for certain purposes. But most of the literary indications extant today about the language of the common people of Jesus' day point toward Hebrew as the primary language in an undoubtedly bi-, tri-, or quadrilingual society (and no one living in multilingual Israel today can doubt the possibility and feasibility of such a thing in Jesus' day). The linguistic situation during that time is probably best described by the term "diglossia." This term is used to describe the well-known habit of multilingual speakers of speaking their various languages in different religious, social, economic, or political situations, which may vary as well with the particular geographical setting in which an utterance is made. The indications in favor of Hebrew are: (1) the languages used in the inscriptions on the cross (Greek, Latin, and Hebrew); (2) the large number of Hebrew words surviving in the NT (many more by actual count than Aramaic words); (3) the now better-understood fact that Hebrew works from the time (just as modern Israeli Hebrew scholarly works) contain Aramaisms, but that these do not point to Aramaic originals; and (4) most especially the astounding fact that much of the day-to-day Second Temple literature discovered at Qumran and

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[17]The debate about the "Hellenistic" or "Non-Hellenistic" background of the writers of the NT (including Paul) continues. Cf. e.g., on the Hellenistic side, Samuel Sandmel, *The Genius of Paul* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979), and on the Jewish side, W. D. Davies, *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism* (4th ed.; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1980). For a most stimulating recent approach to the religion of Paul, see E. P. Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1977) and *Idem, Paul, the Law and the Jewish People* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1983).

Massada is in Hebrew. All of this, and especially the last point, is so over-whelming that even Matthew Black has had to concede that "if this is a cor-rect estimate of the Qumran evidence [Wilcox's contention that Hebrew was a spoken Palestinian language in NT times], where Hebrew vastly predomi-nates over Aramaic, then it may be held to confirm the view identified with the name of Professor Segal that Hebrew was actually a spoken vernacular in Judaea in the time of Christ."[18]

One of the most striking indications of Jesus' use of Hebrew comes from his words on the cross, Ηλι ηλι λεμα σαβαχθανι (Matt 27:46; see n. 14 above on the text). Although Mark 15:34 records them in Aramaic, Ελωι Ελωι λεμα σαβαχθανι, quoting the Targum to Psalm 22, the context seems to indi-cate that Jesus must have uttered them in Hebrew, because Eli (Ηλι, אֵלִי) was a shortened form of Eliyahu (Ηλίας, אֵלִיָּהוּ), "Elijah," only in Hebrew, and the bystanders thought Jesus was calling for Elijah. But אֱלָהִי, the Aramaic (see Dan 6:23), could not have been mistaken for "Eliahu." Only Hebrew אֵלִי can account for the misunderstanding. Bivin and Blizzard could have pointed out the obvious psychological fact that the utterance of a man in pain and in the throes of death, without any doubt whatsoever would have been made in the language he was most accustomed to speaking. Σαβαχθανι may have been as much Mishnaic-like Hebrew as Aramaic, though it was certainly Aramaic in the first instance and would have come over into Hebrew only as a loanword—a distinct possibility in Jesus' time, considering the kind of litera-ture in which it occurs.[19] It is used enough now in Modern Hebrew to be considered genuine Hebrew by Even-Shoshan; it passed from loanword status to Hebrew status somewhere along the way.[20] Of course the Biblical Hebrew word in Psalm 22:1 is עֲזַבְתָּנִי. The word לָמָה, transliterated variously by Greek

[18]M. Black, *An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts* (3rd ed.; Oxford: Clarendon, 1967) 47. Birkeland gives a convenient summary of the history of Aramaic and suggests a view of the relative importance of Aramaic and Hebrew as spoken languages in the time of Jesus similar to the one suggested above in this article (Harris Birkeland, *The Language of Jesus* [Oslo: I Kommisjon Hos Jacob Dybwad, 1954] 1–40). Some other important sources for the consideration of Aramaic vis-à-vis Hebrew are: B. Jongeling, C. J. Labuschagne, and A. S. Van der Woude, *Aramaic Texts from Qumran* Semitic Study Series, new series edited by J. H. Hospers, T. Jansma, and G. F. Pijper, vol. 1/4; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1976); Jonas C. Greenfield, "Aramaic and Its Dialects," in *Jewish Languages*, ed. by Herbert H. Paper, pp. 29–43; and E. Y. Kutscher, "Aramaic," *Encyclopedia Judaica* 3: cols. 259–87. Especially important is the evidence in favor of Mishnaic Hebrew as the spoken medium during the Second Temple period adduced by M. H. Segal, *A Grammar of Mishnaic Hebrew* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1927) 1–20.

[19]Jastrow, *Dictionary*, 1516–17.

[20](ירושלים: קרית־ספר) המילין העברי, אברהם אבן־שושן 1323. James Barr's discussion of "Aramaisms" and Aramaic loanwords in Hebrew still remains one of the best on the subject. See his *Comparative Philology and the Text of the Old Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1968) 121–24. For an explanation of and a listing of other Modern Hebrew borrowings from Aramaic, see Jonas C. Greenfield, "Aramaic and Its Dialects," in *Jewish Languages, Theme and Variations* ed. by Herbert H. Paper (Cambridge, MA: Association for Jewish Studies, 1978) 42.

manuscripts in the Matthew passage as λιμα, λεμα, and λαμα, and in the Mark passage by the additional λειμα.[21] The difference in pronunciation between the Aramaic and Hebrew would have been difficult to distinguish orally, so the language of the utterance probably hinges on the shortened form of Elijah.

Other convincing proofs for Hebrew as the spoken vernacular follow one upon another. Consider the account in the Talmud (Nedarim 66b)[22] about the difficulties an Aramaic-speaking Jew from Babylon had in communicating with his Jerusalemite wife, who spoke Hebrew, or the findings of Flusser that of the hundreds of Semitic idioms in the Synoptic Gospels most can be explained on the basis of Hebrew only, while there "are no Semitisms which could only be Aramaic without also being good Hebrew" (p. 40). Or consider the opinion of Moshe Bar-Asher, the prominent Aramaic scholar at Hebrew University, that the Synoptics go back to an original Hebrew and not Aramaic. Joining in this train, according to Bivin and Blizzard, are Pinchas Lapide of Bar-Ilan University (Tel-Aviv), William Sanford LaSor (Fuller Seminary), Frank Cross (Harvard University), and J. T. Milik (pp. 40–43).

But for those familiar with the writings of the early Fathers this does not come as a total surprise. The testimony to an original Hebrew Gospel by Matthew is found from about A.D. 165 in Papias, through Irenaeus, Origen, Eusebius, Epiphanius, and most strikingly, Jerome (ca. 400). During his thirty-one years of translating in Bethlehem he wrote that

> Matthew, also called Levi, apostle and aforetimes publican, composed a gospel of Christ at first published in Judea in Hebrew for the sake of those of the circumcision who believed, but this was afterwards translated into Greek though by what author is uncertain. The Hebrew itself has been preserved until the present day in the library at Caesarea which Pamphilus so diligently gathered. I have also had the opportunity of having the volume described to me by the Nazarenes of Beroea, a city of Syria, who use it. In this it is to be noted that wherever the Evangelist, whether on his own account or in the person of our Lord the Saviour quotes the testimony of the Old Testament he does not follow the authority of the translators of the Septuagint but the Hebrew. Wherefore these two forms exist, 'Out of Egypt have I called my son,' and 'for he shall be called a Nazarene.'"[23]

One of the common arguments for an Aramaic vernacular at the time of Jesus is the existence of targumim and the discovery of some of these Aramaic paraphrases at Qumran. But the targumim undoubtedly originated in a linguistic situation which preceded Jesus' time by at least a century and a half or more and which changed by the last days of the Second Temple. This can be seen by careful analysis of the writings of the Tannaim and Amoraim. Furthermore, the Aramaic targumim are outnumbered at Qumran by Greek translations, and few seriously contend that Greek was the primary spoken

[21] Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament*, 70, 119–20.

[22] Babylonian Talmud (London: Soncino, 1936), Nedarim 66b, pp. 214–15.

[23] See n. 5 above for the other references. To these should be added Epiphanius, *Refutation of All Heresies*, 30.3.7. The complete quotation from Jerome can be found in Jerome, *Lives of Illustrious Men*, 3, in vol. 3 of the *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, second series, trans. by E. C. Richardson, ed. by P. Schaff and H. Wace, p. 362.

language of first century Israel. It is significant that the Pesharim (commentaries) found at Qumran are all in Hebrew. It is possible that it was the religious revival that occurred under Judas Maccabaeus after his cleansing of the Temple in December, 164 B.C. (for which Hannukkah is a commemoration), which was the impetus for the resurgence of Hebrew as the primary vernacular of Israel's Jews by the time of Jesus (p. 55).

Coins, inscriptions,[24] Rabbinic literature such as the Mishnah, and especially Rabbinic parables (there are about five thousand of these which survived in Hebrew and only two in Aramaic) all go to bolster the case for Hebrew as the vernacular of Second Temple Israel and thus of the documents behind the gospels.

But perhaps most telling are the gospels themselves, and in particular the Gospel of Luke, the Greek translation of which evidences transparently literalistic translation from a Hebrew original more often (and perhaps most surprisingly) than do either Mark or Matthew. These semitisms, most noticeable in syntax and idiomatic expressions (as would be the case with any literalistic translation) are not evenly spread throughout the book. They occur in blocks, most notably in direct statements attributed to Jesus or to his Jewish opponents. Some of these Hebraisms are so common and obvious that one scarcely needs to mention them, but for those unfamiliar with them, perhaps it is valuable to note a few. The constant καὶ ἐγένετο + ἐν + article + infinitive + subject of infinitive in the accusative + καὶ + main verb obviously reflects וַיְהִי + preposition (usually בּ or כּ) + infinitive construct + ו + main verb.[25] Thus, the repetitious use of ו in narrative is reproduced as one of the outstanding characteristics of the gospels, a feature also apparent in literalistic English translations such as *KJV* or *NASB*, which retain the semitic syntax, even twice or three times removed.

It might be helpful to give an example of the ease with which many portions of Luke are returned to idiomatic Hebrew, often with few changes even in word order. One that Lindsey uses, Luke 22:67–70, is particularly excellent since it contains a common Rabbinic introduction to a disputation as well as allusions to two OT passages (and possibly a veiled reference to a third passage):

εἰ σὺ εἶ ὁ χριστός, εἰπὸν ἡμῖν. εἶπεν δὲ	אִם אַתָּה הַמָּשִׁיחַ, אֱמֹר לָנוּ.
αὐτοῖς· ἐὰν ὑμῖν εἴπω, οὐ μὴ πιστεύσητε·	וַיֹּאמֶר אֲלֵיהֶם, "אִם אֹמַר לָכֶם
ἐὰν δὲ ἐρωτήσω, οὐ μὴ ἀποκριθῆτε.	לֹא תַאֲמִינוּ וְאִם אֶשְׁאַל לֹא תַעֲנוּ.
ἀπο τοῦ νῦν δὲ ἔσται ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου	וּמֵעַתָּה יִהְיֶה בַּר אֱנָשׁ יוֹשֵׁב
καθήμενος ἐκ δεξιῶν τῆς δυνάμεως τοῦ θεοῦ.	לִימִין הַגְּבוּרָה. . . .
εἶπαν δὲ πάντες· σὺ οὖν εἶ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ.	וַיֹּאמְרוּ כֻלָּם, "אַתָּה אֵפוֹא בֶּן
ὁ δὲ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἔφη· ὑμεῖς λέγετε ὅτι ἐγώ	הָאֱלֹהִים, "וַיֹּאמֶר אֲלֵיהֶם, "אַתֶּם
εἰμι.	אוֹמְרִים כִּי אֲנִי הוּא."

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[24]Francis E. Peters has cautioned against giving too much weight to coins for deciding the languages of Palestine during this period (Francis E. Peters, "Response," in *Jewish Languages, Theme and Variations*, 161).

[25]As recognized by Nigel Turner, who calls this construction a "Semitism" (James Hope Moulton, *A Grammar of New Testament Greek*, vol. 3: *Syntax*, by Nigel Turner [Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1963] 144–46). See also his long listing of other semitisms, pp. 398–99.

Lindsey's explanation of this passage is a good example of the kind of work that is being done by those studying the gospels from the standpoint of their Hebrew and Jewish background:

> As in all of Luke it is not Jesus who uses the word Messiah about himself; this word is employed by the chief priests who are trying to get Jesus to "level" with them and confess the thing his actions and speech have long hinted at but not made explicit. Faced with hostile interrogators who are nevertheless conscious of their duty to get the facts Jesus does "level" with them by pointedly telling them that he cannot expect them to believe the truth if he says it and that he cannot even "ask" them anything; this last is a reference to the accepted rabbinic procedure in debate: the one asked a question is allowed to ask a question in return. But rather than leave things at an impasse Jesus then makes a statement which can only leave his hearers following the patterns of rabbinic exegesis to try to make out what he means. "The Son of Man" is a Messianic title they know full well from Daniel 7.13,14 and the "seated at the right hand" they easily identify as a reference to Messianic Psalm 110. Jesus' expression "the Power" is another accommodation to the rabbinic habit of replacing an ordinary name for the deity by an evasive synonym. But of even more interest is the seeming addition in the priestly expression "the Son of God." Here, as Professor Flusser once pointed out to me, the explanation seems to be in the way the rabbis connected Psalm 110 with Psalm 2 by reading verse 3 of the former as יְלִדְתִּיךָ טַל (cf. the LXX) which is the same verb found in Psalm 2:7. They answer therefore: "You are then the Son of God!" and of course mean, "You are, then, the Messiah!" Jesus answers, "It is *you* who are saying that I am he!"[26]

Bivin and Blizzard point out such common Hebrew idioms in the gospels as "he lifted up his eyes and saw," "Heaven," in "Kingdom of Heaven" as a substitute term for God for fear of violation of the third commandment,[27] and the idiom "to come/be near," as the equivalent of "to be present" (i.e., "the Kingdom of God is here," not "near"). Bivin and Blizzard's equation of the word "judgment" with "salvation" instead of with "destruction" may not be as well chosen, even though this may occasionally be the way to translate the word in the OT.

Even Arndt, Gingrich, and Danker recognize a number of these idioms, while, perhaps, not fully appreciating their significance since the bulk of their work (and Bauer's) was completed before the important implications of the Qumran discoveries came to be appreciated. Still, they list a number of idioms with a semitic background both in the introduction to the lexicon as well as in the text itself.[28] They do at least recognize the influence of the LXX on NT Greek syntax, and there can be no doubt where the LXX got its syntax. Still, one is not quite prepared for the superlative in which they express it: "As for the influence of the LXX, every page of this lexicon shows that it outweighs all other influences on our literature."[29] While this statement may be hyperbole, these lexicographers are definitely on the mark

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[26]Lindsey, *A Hebrew Translation of the Gospel of Mark,* xx–xi.

[27]Cf. Bruce D. Chilton, *A Galilean Rabbi and His Bible* (Wilmington: Michael Glazier, 1984) 78.

[28]*BAGD,* xix–xxv.

[29]*BAGD,* xxi.

about one thing: the NT is full of semitic syntax, vocabulary, idioms, and thought patterns. Perhaps in the case of the Synoptics, however, this should not be traced so much to the influence of a Hebrew-to-Greek translation of the OT, as a Hebrew-to-Greek translation of documents which lie behind these gospels. In any case, the point is that the Hebrew influence is there, and this fact coupled with other factors already mentioned in this article once again points to Hebrew as the linguistic background for the gospels. As for the actual listing of the Hebrew expressions and idioms in the gospels, the 72-page-long list in Moulton-Howard, vol. 2 (where the whole scope of the NT is covered) is only a beginning;[30] there are many more which are most apparent to someone who wears the glasses of Hebrew fluency to see them.

The Process of Composition

One of the more controversial parts of the book by Bivin and Blizzard will be their discussion of the process of composition of the gospels. Although there is very little in the canonical writings which explains the actual process of writing down the stories, or the mechanics of inspiration, there are ideas about composition and inspiration which have come to be almost canonical!

It is undoubtedly worthwhile to remind ourselves just what is actually known. As for the composition of the gospels, only Luke tells us his method: he used written sources (Luke 1:1–4). He undoubtedly had oral sources as well, but he does not say that he did. Early church historians suggest rather often that Paul was an oral source for Luke and that very well may have been true to some extent.[31] As for the mechanics of inspiration, the Bible gives no explanation at all. And the situation is complicated even more by the fact that the foundations of currently popular views on inspiration among American evangelicals, the "autograph," is something neither mentioned in the NT, nor in any of the discussions of inspiration and canonicity in the first centuries of the Church.[32] This is notable because there is an obvious question which arises from the early church accounts that the Greek Gospel of Matthew and the Greek book of Hebrews are translations: what is an autograph? Or, more to the point, which was the autograph then in the case of these books: the Hebrew original or the Greek translation? The same question might arise out of Luke's report that he used written sources for his gospel, as well as the suggestions of Bivin and Blizzard about the composition of the Synoptics. On the one hand both our conceptions of canonicity and the content of the Canon are entirely dependent upon the tradition of the Church Fathers.[33] On

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[30]Moulton and Howard, *Grammar*, vol. 2, 413–85.

[31]Irenaeus, *Against Heresies*, 3.1; Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, 6.24.

[32]Liddell and Scott list only Dionysius Halicarnassensis and Plutarch as users of the word (*LSJ*, 279). *BAGD* does not list the word. It is true, of course, that the concept does not depend upon the use of this particular word, but I can find no such concept connected with inerrancy during the early centuries of the church.

[33]The main canon lists are: The Muratorian Canon (ca. 2nd century); Eusebius (4th century); Cyril of Jerusalem (A.D. 349); Apostolic Canons (4th century); Codex Alexandrinus (4th century); Council of Laodicea (A.D. 363); Council of Carthage (A.D. 397); the African Code (A.D. 419); and Jerome (A.D. 420). None except Jerome

the other hand the Fathers neither raise nor answer the question of "auto-graphs," since they were not, apparently, concerned with them or even aware of the concept as it is used today, even though they spoke freely about the fact that some of the NT books were translations. Thus, an answer to the question, "what is an autograph" is not immediately apparent, but it is a crucial question for the doctrine of inerrancy, since inerrancy is claimed only for "the autographs." Bivin and Blizzard raise the question only by implica-tion and thus do not suggest an answer.

With this background, then, we come to the propositions of Bivin and Blizzard about the composition of the Synoptics. They outline four steps in the process of the preservation and transmission of the gospel stories. Natur-ally, these steps are hypothetical. Of course this must be the case with any reconstruction based on a particular theory, such as the currently popular theory of Markan priority. Since any theory of composition is based on a long series of inferences, no matter what hypothesis one prefers, one is still working in the dark. In the end a theory of composition must be judged on the basis of how many questions it answers and problems it solves, weighed against the questions it does not answer and the problems it does not solve. Bivin and Blizzard believe that their alternative to Markan priority answers more questions and solves more problems while at the same time leaving unsolved and unanswered less than does the theory of Markan priority.

Step one occurred within five years of the death and resurrection of Jesus, when his words were recorded in Hebrew. Bivin and Blizzard estimate that this "Life of Jesus" was about 30–35 chapters long. Notice that they postulate a very *early written* account, as opposed to the widely held theory that the raw material of the gospels is *late and oral.*

Step two according to Bivin and Blizzard involved the translation of the Hebrew "Life of Jesus" into Greek in order to supply the demand for it in Greek-speaking churches outside of Israel. The translation was, like the trans-lation of the LXX, slavishly literal, and "since books translated from Hebrew into Greek are much longer in Greek, it was about 50–60 chapters in length" (p. 94).

Step three followed only a few years later when, "probably at Antioch, the stories, and frequently elements within the stories, found in this Greek translation were separated from one another and then these fragments were arranged topically, perhaps to facilitate memorization. (What remained were fragments that were often divorced from their original and more meaningful contexts)" (pp. 94–95). There are a number of clear instances of "fragmenta-tion" in the gospels which Bivin and Blizzard did not point out. An example may be seen by comparing Matthew's "Sermon on the Mount" with the fragments of it scattered throughout Luke. My own computer-assisted analy-sis of the approximately 390 sections (using the divisions of the UBS Greek NT), for example, has demonstrated that large sections of the material found

agrees completely with our canon. Most of these are conveniently gathered and cited in their original Greek or Latin (except the Muratorian fragment, which is undoubtedly a translation) in B. F. Westcott, *A General Survey of the History of the Canon of the New Testament* (7th ed.; London: Macmillan, 1896) 530–68.

in Matthew 5, 6, and 7 in one "sermon" are found in six different places in Luke (6, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16) in addition to shorter sections found elsewhere. Some of this difference in arrangement of material is undoubtedly a reflection of Jesus' repetition of his words in slightly different form to different audiences in different places at different times and in different contexts. But some of it might also support the contention of Bivin and Blizzard that a certain amount of fragmentation and displacement occurred between the time that the stories were originally committed to writing and the time that they were arranged in the form in which we have them now.[34] This displacement of stories from their contexts may be clearly seen by comparing accounts of the same stories in the Synoptics. One example which will clearly illustrate the point is the healing story found beginning in Luke 4:40, Mark 1:32, and Matthew 8:16. In Luke and Mark the phrase "when it was evening," or "when the sun had gone down" makes sense in those two books since the story is set in the context of Shabbat (the Sabbath); and of course the Jews had to wait until Shabbat was over before they could do any work such as bringing sick people to Jesus to be healed. But in Matthew the same story (as well as the healing of Peter's mother-in-law) is set in a different context with nothing either preceding or following it about Shabbat. Hence in Matthew the phrase "when evening came" has been separated from its original context and one must go to the parallels in Luke and Mark to recover its full meaning.

Step four in the composition of our Synoptics according to Bivin and Blizzard was the stage at which a fluent Greek author used this topically arranged text, reconstructed its fragmented elements and stories to produce a gospel with some chronological order (either explicit or implicit), and thus created still another document. "This author, even before our Matthew, Mark, and Luke, was the first to struggle with a reconstruction of the original order of the story units (represented by steps one and two). In the process of reconstruction, he improved its (step three's) grammatically poor Greek, as well as shortening it considerably" (p. 95).

According to this theory of the composition of the gospels, Luke wrote first and used only the "topical" text (step three) and the "reconstructed text" (step four). Mark followed Luke's work (both Luke's Gospel and his Acts, as Lindsey points out)[35] and Matthew used Mark's. Mark and Matthew had access to the "topical" text (step three) as well, but none of the synoptic writers had access to the original Hebrew "Life of Jesus" (step one) or the first Greek translation of that "Life" (step two). Matthew did not use Luke directly.[36] Bivin and Blizzard also suggest that Matthew wrote the original Hebrew "Life of Jesus" as all of the Church Fathers who speak on the matter in the first 400 years of church history contend, but the extant Matthew was

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[34]Cf. Lindsey, *A Hebrew Translation of the Gospel of Mark*, xxii–xxvi; Joachim Jeremias, *The Sermon on the Mount*, trans. by Norman Perrin (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1963) 13–33.

[35]Lindsey, *A Hebrew Translation of the Gospel of Mark*, 39. To this Lindsey adds Mark's verbal dependence upon James, 1–2 Thessalonians, 1–2 Corinthians, and Romans (p. 52).

[36]Ibid., xviii.

not done by him, and his name came to be associated with it because of its evidently Jewish tone and the tradition that Matthew wrote his in Hebrew. While it is true that our Gospel of Matthew does not itself say who wrote it, and we thus rely entirely on the tradition of Church History for this conclusion, the tradition itself is so pervasive that there seems to be no good reason to deny it. Matthew's Hebrew "Life of Jesus" is connected with the disciple by that name as late as Jerome, who, as we noted above, says that a copy of it in Hebrew was still in the library in Caesarea in his day. But even Jerome admits that no one knows or even suggests who might have translated the Hebrew Gospel into Greek.

In any event the priority of Luke is the heart of the burden of Bivin and Blizzard and in this they are merely summarizing decades of work by Lindsey, which Lindsey himself conveniently outlines in a most convincing manner in the introduction to his translation of Mark. NT scholars in the West have yet seriously to interact with it, perhaps in many cases because they simply do not know about it. It is most unfortunate that the book was originally published in Israel, that its title does not indicate the full scope of the important material it presents, and it has not been widely advertised. These factors have undoubtedly led to its obscurity.

Reconstruction

Some of the scholars in Israel who have spent a lifetime studying the Synoptics have themselves attempted to reconstruct some of the fragmented stories and teachings by combining elements from the various gospels which can be related through key words. Bivin and Blizzard give one example of this with a reconstruction of the Mary and Martha story, combining elements from Luke 10, Matthew 6 = Luke 12, and Luke 16. Thus, Martha's complaint about Mary's neglect of her share of the work precedes Jesus' teachings on worry gathered from several places. These are followed by the story of the rich man who tore down his barns to build bigger ones. Then the story is concluded with the parable of the rich man and Lazarus.

Of all of the innovations in the book, this is the one which may be hardest to accept. In fact, the entire chapter would probably have been better left out of the book. Such reconstruction, one might argue, may be the next logical step after one has recognized that some stories are fragmented. Gospel harmonies actually amount to this. But there is still a lingering feeling that what we have is what we have, and that we should leave it as it is. Each canonical gospel has come down to us in a form which has value and significance just as it is. Each must in the end stand on its own merits. Comparison of the Synoptics for the purpose of *understanding* parallel stories is one thing (and must be done at a deeper level than mere lexical similarity); comparison of the Synoptics for the purpose of *reconstruction* is quite another. It is not that it is any more theologically dangerous or disrespectful of the gospels than, e.g., Gospel Harmonies or the numbers in the Eusebian and Ammonian Canon Tables. It is simply a question of whether extensive reconstruction on the basis of a few similar words or thoughts is really convincing or helpful.

Retroversion and Retranslation

"Theological error due to mistranslation" takes up the next section of the book. These "theological errors" according to Bivin and Blizzard are "pacificism," "giving without discernment," and the "theology of martyrdom." The arguments are made rather convincingly, but they may not convince everyone. This section is followed by an appendix in which Bivin discusses individual verses and phrases and explains them from their Hebrew/Jewish background. For the less trained reader this section will undoubtedly be the most interesting. For the trained reader this section is the test of whether the idea of Hebrew backgrounds to the gospels is a good solution for difficulties of translation and interpretation. If a few of the flaws, such as the use of the King James Version instead of the Greek text, can be overlooked, almost anyone can find help here with some of the most impenetrable sayings of Jesus.

The first saying which Bivin discusses is "Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven." Here Bivin points out that this verse intends to teach that God's followers are made up of the spiritually "down and out," who are humble enough to let God save them.

Luke 23:31, "For if they do these things in a green tree, what shall be done in the dry?" is explained against the background of Ezekiel's prophecy against Jerusalem and its Temple in Ezek 20:45–21:7. Jesus identifies himself with the "Green Tree," a Messianic symbol of the times and the "Dry Tree" with the people of Jerusalem who would face a worse fate than Jesus at the hands of the Romans. Bivin suggests that "in" should be "against" (no doubt going back to an original Hebrew ב). Not only does the verse finally make sense, but it shows once again, as Bivin says, that "Jesus seems hardly ever to have spoken without somehow or in some way making a messianic claim," even though he never comes right out and says "I am the Messiah" in the Synoptics.

Bivin finds the key to Matt 11:12, "From the days of John the Baptist until now, the kingdom of heaven suffereth violence, and the violent take it by force," by comparing a rabbinic midrash of Mic 2:13, a connection pointed out by Flusser. It appears that Jesus is here taking a Messianic interpretation from the literature (whether oral or written) of his culture, perhaps altering it slightly, and subtly using it to make a messianic claim.

Bivin next takes up Luke 12:49–50: "I am come to send fire on the earth; and what will I, if it be already kindled? But I have a baptism to be baptized with; and how am I straitened till it be accomplished." This enigmatic statement is the occasion for the most lengthy and fascinating explanation that Bivin offers. By comparing the verse with Matt 3:11 and Isa 66:15–16, and by explaining the many Hebraisms latent in the verse, Bivin shows that it is better translated,

I have come to cast fire upon the earth,
But how could I wish it [the earth] were already burned up?
I have a baptism to baptize,
And how distressed I am till it is over!

In his discussion of Matt 16:19, "Whatsoever you shall bind (or loose) on earth shall be bound (or loosed) in heaven," Bivin shows that understanding the Hebrew background of the saying would lead to the translation "allow" and "disallow" for this very common rabbinic phrase. He also shows how this authority was applied at the Jerusalem Council in Acts 15, at which James both "loosed," i.e., allowed the believers not to be circumcised and not to keep the whole law, and "bound," i.e., disallowed idolatry, cult prostitutes, and eating meat from which the blood had not been removed (Lev 7:26).

Matt 5:20, "Except your righteousness shall exceed the righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees, you shall in no case enter into the kingdom of heaven," is illuminated by the insight that the צְדָקָה of the Pharisees had been reduced to almsgiving, and Jesus was calling for a greater צְדָקָה, God's צְדָקָה (righteousness).

Matt 5:17–18, "Do not think that I am come to destroy the law, or the prophets; I am not come to destroy, but to fulfill. For verily I say to you, till heaven and earth pass, one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass from the law till all be fulfilled," is explained by showing the typical Hebrew rabbinic phrases employed in this statement evidently aimed at other rabbis. The Hebrew idiom "I have come" obviously means "it is my purpose to," and the terms "destroy" and "fulfill" were commonly employed in Jesus' day as technical terms in rabbinic argumentation. "When a rabbi felt that his colleague had misinterpreted a passage of Scripture, he would say, 'You are destroying the Law.' Needless to say, in most cases his colleague strongly disagreed. What was 'destroying the Law' for one rabbi, was 'fulfilling the Law' (correctly interpreting Scripture) for another" (p. 154). Thus, it is Jesus' method of interpretation that is under consideration here. Hence, to paraphrase, he is saying "never imagine for a moment that I intend to abrogate the Law by misinterpreting it. My intent is not to weaken or negate the Law, but by properly interpreting God's Written Word I aim to establish it, that is, make it even more lasting. I would never invalidate the Law by effectively removing something from it through interpretation. Heaven and earth would sooner disappear than something from the Law. Not the smallest letter in the alphabet, the *yod* nor even its decorative spur, will ever disappear from the Law" (p. 155).

Bivin goes on to show that Luke 6:22, "cast your name as evil" is simply a literalistic translation of the Hebrew idiom meaning, "to defame (publicly) you." Luke 9:29, "the appearance of his face was altered," a phrase appearing twice in rabbinic literature, is shown to be a subtle messianic claim. Luke 9:44, "lay these sayings in your ears" is a Hebrew expression familiar to any reader of Biblical Hebrew.

One often hears that the expression "he set his face to go" in Luke 9:51 demonstrates Jesus' resolve to go to Jerusalem, but Bivin correctly points out that this expression has nothing to do with resolve, but is only a Hebrew idiom which means "turned in the direction of."

One final example of sayings of Jesus better understood through recognition of the Hebrew and Jewish background of the gospels is offered. It is the saying in Luke 10:5–6: "Whatever house you enter, first say, '*Shalom* be to this house.' And if a son of *shalom* is there, your *shalom* shall rest upon

him; but if not, it shall return to you." Bivin would paraphrase this, "When you are invited into a home, let your first act be to say, "Peace to this family!" If the head of the house turns out to be truly friendly and hospitable [a 'son of peace'], let the blessing, 'Peace,' you pronounced when you entered his house remain upon his family. If he is not friendly, withdraw your blessing [and move to another house]" (p. 168). Bivin compares Jesus' instruction here to similar blessing used by other rabbis: "Shalom to you, shalom to your house [i.e., 'family'], and shalom to everything you own" (p. 169).

With this the book closes, but it does not close the discussion it is likely to engender. The core of ideas which the book presents represent an opportunity for NT scholars to make a real advance in the understanding of the gospels, and the book ought to be taken seriously even though it is in a popular style and is defective literarily, typographically, and especially in the many assertions which are not supported by sufficient documentation. The trained critical reader should not presume that lack of documentation in the book means that documentation is not available. One may suppose that some of this lack of documentation is a result of the popular style the authors chose in order to reach a larger audience. It may also be that after having lived and worked among speakers of Hebrew the authors came to assume many things which are obvious to someone fluent in Hebrew and very conversant with Jewish culture and history, but not to those who do not have such a background. Or they may have simply underestimated the degree to which NT studies in Western Europe and America have remained comfortably unaware of the original linguistic and cultural setting of our Synoptic Gospels. It is also possible that they did not fully realize the extent to which American conservative Christianity is so much more dependent upon the fourteen epistles of Paul, the Gospel of John, and the Apocalypse. The Synoptics are largely untouched in American conservative Christianity, except for portions which contain the infancy narratives, the narratives of the last days of Jesus on earth, and a few scattered eschatological references. In contrast to the early Christians whose favorite gospel seems to have been Matthew, there is no doubt that American conservatives today prefer John. In contrast to early Christians who placed much more emphasis on the teachings of Jesus, American conservatives emphasize the epistles of Paul. Without making a judgment on the reasons for or the rightness or wrongness of these phenomena, it is sufficient in the present case to remark that these facts alone portend a resistance to the suggestions of Bivin and Blizzard. The lack of familiarity with the Synoptics on the part of a major segment of the Christian community in the West will mean that few will even see the significance of their suggestions and fewer still will be capable of evaluating them. This is not to say that everything that is suggested in the book will be acceptable even to those who are capable of such evaluation. Unfortunately, the tone of some of the statements in the book places the forum for discussion of the merits of its ideas on the very level where no questions of theology or biblical scholarship are finally decided: the level of polemics and assertion. I can only hope that in a future edition of this book or perhaps in another book the authors will offer more documentation from the many sources that are available, and that they will present this evidence in a format that will appeal

more to scholars. But if one can look past this defect to the ideas themselves, he will find a tool for the recovery of the background of the Synoptics which will make them live, and thus, in my opinion, make them a much more powerful corrective for human lives. To be realistic, however, it must be admitted that Bivin and Blizzard (as well as Lindsey, Flusser, Safrai, Lapide, and others) are going against much of the mainstream of Western Synoptic studies; but perhaps the stream needs to ask itself whether it is really flowing in the right direction.

It remains, finally, for each student of the Synoptics to remind himself, as he should do periodically, that it is possible to worry so much about what kind of material was used to build the house, who put it there, when it was put there, and how and why it was put there, that the beauty of the finished house itself is missed; but if the point of the study of gospel composition continues to be the better understanding of the difficult words of Jesus and the more incisive application of them as a corrective for human behavior, then the enterprise remains not only beneficial but obligatory.

BOOK REVIEWS

Girdlestone's Synonyms of the Old Testament, edited by Donald R. White. Third edition. Grand Rapids: Baker, 1983. Pp. 388. No price.

The reissue and updating of Robert Girdlestone's well-known *Synonyms of the Old Testament* forms part of Baker's Bible Language Library, a series designed to give readers of the English Bible access to the languages of the original text. This third edition of the classic work features the crossreferencing of each Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek word commented upon by Girdlestone with the corresponding entry number of *Strong's Exhaustive Concordance*. Under Baker's scheme, reference to *Strong's Exhaustive Concordance* allows the researcher further entrance into selective lexicons of the OT and NT, a process by which serious students of the English Bible can gain considerable help in understanding the riches of the Scriptures.

The several words and quotations in foreign languages in Girdlestone's earlier editions have also been translated into English, which presents yet another helpful feature for the reader who has, for instance, long been mystified by some of Girdlestone's Latin citations. All of this has been packaged in an attractive book that includes a most readable typeface, a pleasing format, and a few changes that reflect the spelling and pronunciation practices of contemporary (American) English.

The editor has also added vowel pointings to the Hebrew words, formerly given only in consonantal form. It is at this point that a word or two of criticism seems in order. Having added the vowel points to the Hebrew/ Aramaic words, the editor has also provided a full transliteration. Although this is a commendable undertaking, the transliteration system is a strange one, at best. Not only are marking conventions normally applied only to plene forms utilized for simple long vowels, but with the plene forms the consonant itself is also included (e.g., *ʾĔlôhîym* rather than the standard *ʾĕlōhîm*). The result must surely be confusing for English readers who do not understand the employment of Hebrew consonants in plene vowel forms. One also wonders why a similar system of transliteration was not used for the many Greek words in the book. The failure to translate the German words *richten* and *urteilen* (p. 275n) illustrates inconsistency at another point.

Another addition to the book is a short glossary of terms important to the reading of the book. While any set of such terms is always selective, one would hope that the information thus given would be totally accurate (e.g., the definitions of "Masoretic text," "Syriac") and free from controversial terminology (e.g., "Majority text").

The editor also has added a few notes. Such notes ought to be helpful; but alas, the note on p. 51 fails to make clear that the Masoretic pointing of יְהוִה אֲדֹנָי reflects simply the avoidance of applying the usual pointing of אֲדֹנָי

to the tetragram, so that rather than reading ʾăḏōnay twice—once for the tetragram and once for the word itself, the reader now reads the pointing for אֱלֹהִים with the tetragram and pronounces the whole phrase ʾĕlōhîm ʾăḏōnay. Likewise, the note on p. 85 scarcely helps the English reader to appreciate current scholarly opinions regarding the relationship between θέλημα and βουλή. Again, the note on p. 169 is scarcely a significant one, nor does it set forth the full textual picture in Rev 22:14. Surely, if mentioned at all, the reading rejected by the editor ought not to be refused via a mere appeal to the "Majority text."

These criticisms aside, Baker is to be commended for publishing this new edition of a time-honored, standard work. Its readable, wide-margin format will be welcomed by many a pastor and Bible Student.

RICHARD D. PATTERSON
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Exodus, by Ronald F. Youngblood. Everyman's Bible Commentary. Chicago: Moody, 1983. Pp. 144. $4.50. Paper.

This commentary was refreshing to read. There is every evidence of professional skill in it, and, equally important, an evidence of love and appreciation for the book is reflected on every page. This love is illustrated by the following quotation:

I am becoming increasingly convinced that Exodus is the Old Testament's greatest book. Not only does it expand on many of the themes and bring to fruition many of the promises of Genesis, but it also introduces us to the most profound meanings of the Lord's name, to the most basic summary of the Lord's law, to the divine instructions that brought into being the Lord's Tabernacle and priesthood, and to the divine initiative that established the Lord's covenant. . . . (p. 7).

This appreciation of Exodus's theological importance animates the discussion throughout.

That the author is a thoroughgoing conservative is evident in his handling of points of scholarly debate. On Mosaic authorship he states: "there is conclusive evidence in favor of Mosaic authorship as opposed to the anonymous writers that the documentary hypothesis suggests" (p. 11). The astounding number of Israelites ("two to three million") is to be taken literally (pp. 72–73). Concerning the date of the exodus event, the author concludes: "no longer are there weighty reasons for preferring the 1295 date (the so-called 'Late Date' which is the near unanimous liberal position) over the 1445 date" (p. 14), and "the available evidence once again seems to be tilting rather decisively in favor of the traditional date of the exodus—about 1445" (p. 16). While I have always promoted the early date, it is true that such a position is not in the majority. In order to solve one of the major problems for the early date position (the reference to Ramses in Exod 1:11) Youngblood states that "In both Genesis and Exodus, 'Ramses' was not the original name of the site but represents a minor editorial change made by scribes long after Moses' time to update the references for their readers, just as 'Dan' in Genesis 14:14

is an editorial update for the name of a city that was called 'Laish' until the days of the judges" (pp. 13–14). To be fair, however, it should be added that the major difference between the anachronism of Judg 18:29 and Exod 1:11 is that in the case of Dan/Laish the ancient name was "glossed" with the updated name, while retaining the former name. There is no versional support to reveal such an editorial updating in the case of the name Ramses in Exod 1:11.

There are a number of areas where I have modest disagreements. The author writes: "The establishment of God's chosen people of Israel as a 'kingdom of priests and a holy nation' (Exod 19:6) is the major theme of the book of Exodus." While this is certainly a theological truth, I doubt that it is in reality the major theme; it is mentioned only once in the entire book.

On the other hand, in characterizing the contents of the book, the author suggests, with many others, that it is the story of redemption. "The story of Exodus is the story of how God redeemed His people" (p. 18). It is precisely at this point that some serious issues need to be raised. The heart of the problem is identified when Youngblood writes, "Old Testament and New Testament redemption are not identical, of course" (p. 68). In no other place in his discussion is this basic distinction ever integrated into the theological meaning of "redemption" in the OT, as opposed to its meaning in the NT. Youngblood is an excellent theologian and knows the different meanings for the word "redemption" in the testaments: witness the statement, "Old Testament redemption at the time of the Exodus was primarily physical and political, whereas New Testament redemption is primarily spiritual" (p. 68). The rest of the commentary, however, has failed to make this important distinction clear.

An example demonstrates how a layperson might not come to the proper conclusions. "God has called us 'out of darkness into his wonderful light' (1 Pet 2:9), *just as* [emphasis mine] He did the Israelites at the time of the Exodus" (p. 92). While it is true that the ancient Israelites came into the presence of divine light (the pillar of light), there was no necessary *salvation* in participating in the exodus (*contra* his statements on p. 100 implying that to participate evidenced this faith). Consider also the statement, "*Just as* the *redemption* [emphasis mine] brought about by the crucifixion and resurrection of Jesus Christ constitutes the main theme of the New Testament, so the redemption brought about by God's 'mighty acts of judgment' (7:4) at the time of the Exodus constitutes the main theme. . . ." (p. 68). Do we really want to argue that everyone who participated in the exodus event was eternally redeemed?

The answer, of course, is that "redemption" in Exodus does not mean "eternal redemption." As Youngblood points out, the basic meaning in the book is "ransom." God was creating for himself a nation which he "redeemed" from Egypt. The nation is not, however, redeemed in the NT sense of the word. In Exodus we have redemption centered around liberation from earthly bondage, earthly provision, and an earthly covenant whose blessings and curses are, in the main, earthly. It is striking to note that the two words normally translated "redeem" are either rare or unattested in the book. פדה, for example, is used eight times as a verb and once as a noun but never with

God as the subject. גאל is used twice, only once with God as the subject. It is not necessary that the author should agree with my statements; rather, he should have made clearer to the lay reader the implications of the concept of OT "redemption" from Egypt.

There are several points which need clarification. For example, the so-called attestations of the tetragram at Ebla and Mari are hotly debated.* Furthermore, I doubt that Pharaoh was hoping for an increase of Hebrew wives for his harem when he ordered the killing of the male Hebrew babies (p. 28). I would also have preferred a greater emphasis on the plagues as a polemic against Egyptian gods and religion.

These comments do not reflect general dissatisfaction with the work. Both the author and the publisher are to be commended for giving to the entire Christian community an emminently readable and informative commentary by one of the better scholars in that community.

<div style="text-align: right">DONALD L. FOWLER</div>

*For a convenient example see Giovanni Pettinato, "Ebla and the Bible," *BA* 43:4 (1980) 203–5. Most scholars no longer accept readings of the divine name Yahweh at Ebla. The common view is that the *yā* is hypocoristic; see Alfonso Archi, "The Epigraphic Evidence from Ebla and the Old Testament," *Bib* 60 (1979) 556–66. Some have maintained that the reading is a divine name, but argue that the deity Ya is like ʾElohim, generic; see, for example, Mitchell Dahood, "The God *Yā* at Ebla?" *JBL* 100 (1981) 607–8. At the very least we ought to reserve judgment on the issue after the manner of K. A. Kitchen (*The Bible in its World: The Bible and Archaeology Today* [Downers Grove: InterVarsity, 1978] 47).

Psalms 1–50, by Peter C. Craigie. Word Biblical Commentary. Waco: Word, 1983. Pp. 378. $18.95.

Those who have been acquainted with Craigie's previous works will welcome this latest volume from the pen of the Dean of the Faculty of Humanities at the University of Calgary. Craigie's book follows the Word Biblical Commentary format, providing each psalm with a helpful bibliography, his own translation together with critical notes, a consideration of the literary and historical features of the psalm, commentary on the psalm and some further words of concluding "explanation." Although Craigie is somewhat hampered by the limitations of the series' format, his thorough acquaintance with the languages and literatures of the ancient Near East makes the book refreshing, with new insights awaiting the careful reader on nearly every page.

Although scholars will not always be happy with his results (e.g., his understanding of Sheol, p. 93), the author's analyses are always stimulating. The introductory portion of the book addresses such problems as: the origins of psalmody in Israel (it was native to Israel from earliest times), the compilation of the Psalter (it was accomplished in stages over long periods of time: (1) the actual psalm (2) linked to other psalms in small collections (3) then

joined to larger collections drawn from the smaller ones until (4) the final "collection of collections" was made [Craigie does see some collecting on the basis of the divine names Yahweh—Psalms 1–41, 84–150, and Elohim—Psalms 42–83]), an examination of the titles of the Psalms, authorship (Heb. ל does not necessarily indicate a psalm's author), Hebrew poetry and music (much is still to be learned), the Psalms in recent research (an excellent survey), and the Psalms and Ugaritic studies (a balanced approach to the application of the fruits of Ugaritic research to the Hebrew OT—as demonstrated in Craigie's treatment of such difficult Psalms as 18 and 29).

The key to Craigie's approach to the interpretation of the Psalms is seen in his discussion of "Theological Perspectives on the Book of Psalms" (pp. 39–42). For Craigie, the Psalms do not contain God's self-revelation but the response to God's previous revelation by the covenant nation in songs and prayers. Thus, the Psalter is not direct revelation but recognized as inspired or as revelation on the basis of its canonical inclusion. Its theology, then, is not formal but popular and intended for all Israel.

Craigie insists that each psalm must be understood via a layered approach: (1) what it meant in its original setting, (2) what it came to mean within the biblical tradition (particularly with its incorporation into the Psalter), and (3) what it came to signify in NT times. It is not surprising, therefore, to learn that Craigie does not consider any psalm to be originally messianic, but to have become so with the eschatological hopes of the developing biblical tradition, especially in its NT expression. For example, Psalm 2, a royal psalm in praise of the Davidic king over Israel, God's earthly kingdom, becomes associated with the concepts of a new covenant and kingship after Israel's demise as a nation, a process which became readily applicable to the NT revelation. Psalm 16 is given a messianic interpretation relating to Christ's death and resurrection by Peter and Paul. Psalm 22 becomes the messianic psalm par excellence because of Jesus' own appropriation of the psalm in his cross experience and due to the Evangelists' interpretive applications. Psalm 45 is utilized by the writer of Hebrews to account for the permanent value of the Anointed's kingdom. Psalm 45 also moves on from an historical epithalmium to becoming applicable to the experience of the church, the Bride of Christ, in its relation to Christ the King as the people of the Kingdom of God. Craigie does not view the "Messianic Psalms" in the traditional sense but has wedded his interpretation of these psalms to his conviction that the theological center of the Scriptures is the Kingdom of God. The praise of the anointed king, God's focus of attention in his kingdom on earth, gives way in time to a consideration of an eschatological Messiah and his everlasting kingdom.

Craigie has interacted well with a broad spectrum of current literary activity on the Psalms and has profited especially from such writers as J. H. Eaton and C. S. Lewis. One is surprised to find no mention of the works of M. D. Goulder, although his full work on the Psalms of the Sons of Korah (JSOT Supplement Series 20) appeared only in 1982.

Although this work will best be appreciated by serious Bible students, the book is not simply scholastic in tone. Readers will welcome his sensitive

applications to the believer's life and experience. Whatever differences one
may have at times with Craigie's theological perspective, he will doubtless
welcome the book as a valuable addition to the literature on the Psalms.

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First & Second Chronicles, by John Sailhamer. Everyman's Bible Commen-
tary. Chicago: Moody, 1983. Pp. 116. Paper. $4.95.

John Sailhamer's *First and Second Chronicles* takes its place as a wel-
come addition to Moody's Everyman's Bible Commentary. The difficulty of
covering so vast an amount of material in a short amount of space is met by
Sailhamer by continually focusing on the Chronicler's basic purpose of not
just giving a second view of the history of Israel but of providing an explana-
tion of the flow of that history. That explanation finds its center in the person
and kingship of David, whose life and work looks forward to the messianic
Greater David, Jesus Christ. Sailhamer achieves his objectives well and the
result is a pleasing one, so that, although the book is aimed at popular con-
sumption, this little book can be read with profit by all.

Not surprisingly, amidst the usual matters of introduction, Sailhamer
devotes a good deal of attention to the message of Chronicles, stressing the
importance of the Davidic kingship, the court, the temple, and the purpose of
God to extend his dominion and worship to all the people of God among all
nations. He then turns his attention to the ancestry of Israel (1 Chr 1:1–
10:14), suggesting that this section gives primary focus to linking the Davidic
house with Abraham and Adam, thus binding the primeval promises and
blessings to David. Viewed thusly, the genealogies take on messianic over-
tones. There follows a discussion of David's descendants, the line of promise,
followed by a consideration of the fortunes of Saul.

Sailhamer now considers the central figure of Chronicles, David himself
(1 Chr 11:1–29:30).

> David became the standard by which all future kings were measured. A good king
> is one who does "according to all that his father David had done" (2 Chron. 29:2). Not
> only was David the standard for all the kings who followed him, but he was also the
> king who most epitomized the promised Messiah (p. 32).

Sailhamer again underscores the messianic nature of Chronicles, emphasizing
repeatedly those qualities in David that make him a man after God's own
choosing and which constitute him a herald of the Greater David to come.
He devotes three chapters to a consideration of the Davidic promise itself:
(1) those features that relate to the fulfillment of the promise in David's own
lifetime (victory over his enemies and the establishment of a place for Israel,
1 Chr 17:1–21:30), (2) those aspects of the promise that post-dated David's
time but for which David made great preparations (the temple and admini-
stration of the United Kingdom, 1 Chr 22:1–27:34), (3) those details of the

promise that David divulged to the leaders of Israel (the choice of Solomon to succeed David and preparations for the temple, 1 Chr 28:1–29:25).

With the death of David (1 Chr 29:26–30), the outworking of the Davidic promises in David's descendants is then considered (2 Chronicles). Sailhamer devotes a chapter to Solomon and to the special importance of the temple.

> . . . If a king was to measure up to David, he must have a zeal for the house of God (cf. John 2:17). It was part of the chronicler's primary concern to take a historical inventory of the descendants of David (p. 68).

The fortunes of succeeding kings of the Davidic line are traced in three phases: (1) Rehoboam to Jehoshaphat (2 Chronicles 10–20), (2) Jehoram to Josiah (2 Chronicles 21–35), and (3) the last kings (2 Chronicles 36). As Sailhamer gives attention to the important events of the respective kings, he does not lose sight of the Davidic promise and its implications in the light of the varying events in the lives of the kings of Judah. He points out particularly the Chronicler's efforts to prepare his readers for the fact that the fulfillment of the promise to David lay beyond a temporary setting due to the people's spiritual callousness and disobedience. Accordingly, when Jerusalem fell and the temple was destroyed (2 Chr 36:1–13), the Chronicler's final remarks can be of hope in a rebuilt temple (2 Chr 36:14–21), a hope made real in the edict of Cyrus (2 Chr 36:22–23).

To attempt to retell the Chronicler's account of Israel's life and history before God in a mere 116 pages is no easy task. One could take the route of giving a synopsis of the myriad of historical details covered in the two books of Chronicles or take the approach of examining the book as to its theme and development—that is, the reasons that lay behind those events. Sailhamer has wisely chosen the latter course. While this reviewer might have wished to have seen the complementary themes of Torah and universality treated a bit more in Sailhamer's presentation, the dictates of space doubtless have necessitated the author's concentration on the Chronicler's central thesis. Sailhamer has done his work well; this little book contains a good deal more between its covers than one might expect from its small size and popular style.

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The Dead Sea Scrolls, edited by Menahem Mansoor. Second edition. Grand Rapids: Baker, 1983. Pp. 242. Paper. $8.95.

Menahem Mansoor's introductory textbook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls* (first published in 1964), has stood the twin tests of critical examination and time. For this Baker paperback edition Mansoor has added two chapters, both done with his usual careful scholarship blended with a clear presentation. Chapter 24 summarizes current scholarly opinion on the finds at Masada, including institutional, artifactual, and epigraphical material. Mansoor calls

particular attention not only the scholarly world's increased knowledge of life in Herodian and Roman times but to the discovery of "the only synagogue to have survived from the Second Temple period" (p. 210). He also recounts the significance of the several biblical and sectarian texts that have been found. Of special interest to biblical scholars are details relative to the discovery of fragments of Psalms 81–85, Leviticus 8–12, the final two chapters of Deuteronomy, and a decayed scroll of Ezekiel, all dated to the Second Temple period and reflecting the Masoretic textual tradition.

In a final chapter, Mansoor makes an eloquent plea for a scholarly re-examination of the controversial Shapira fragments. The fragments contained a reading manual compiled from Deuteronomy and interspersed with sections from Numbers and Exodus. It was written in paleo-Hebraic script. Rejected by the critics of the 19th century as forgeries, Mansoor exams the charges against them and pleads for their reevaluation on the basis of similar Qumranic material.

Mansoor's two new chapters thus form a valuable addition to a textbook whose worth has been well established.

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The World of the New Testament, ed. by James I. Packer, Merrill C. Tenney, and William White, Jr. Nelson Bible Handbook Series. Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 1982. Pp. vi + 216. Paper. $5.95.

Written to be a companion volume for the study of the NT, this book begins with the assumption that the immediate background of NT times is essential to grasping clearly the biblical message. Its goal is to show how the history of the NT world affected NT events.

The contents of the book maintain a nice balance between historical reporting and synthesis. The chapter on the Greeks traces their history from 3000 B.C. to Antiochus IV. The chapter on the Romans also begins at 3000 B.C. and ends with the fall of Jerusalem in A.D. 70. But the information on the Jews in NT times is topical, including mysticism, Hellenism, remnant theology, sects, etc. Especially nice features of the book are its numerous sidebars, special topics set off from the flow of the book, placed in blocked-off areas on a single page or sometimes spanning two pages. Subjects include Roman citizenship, Greek war tactics, the date of Christmas, early Christian hymns, etc. Very clear maps, numerous black and white photographs, and an index all contribute to make this volume appear to be a large quantity of good information at a very good price.

Though on the surface this book has a lot to offer, it cannot be recommended to anyone for any purpose. A simple reading of the content reveals many half-truths, unacceptable generalizations, and inconsistencies.

Problems begin with the title page: no author is given, only editors; and each of the three editors lists his degrees (a hangover from a former era that

unfortunately has resurfaced). Who is the author and in what sense are Tenney, Packer, and White editors?

Tenney is well known for his writings and his years of teaching at Wheaton College. His *New Testament Times* (1965) demonstrates his expertise in the field of backgrounds. Packer has taught at Regent College since 1979 and is widely read, but this is the first his name has been associated with backgrounds. White is the least well known of the three; his degrees are from Westminster and Dropsie, he taught at the university level for four years, he was OT editor with Nelson for three years, and he has worked for the State of Pennsylvania since 1982. He has published a number of non-scholarly works as well as a new *Theological and Grammatical Phrasebook of the Bible* (1983). There are no clues to the identity of our ghost writer, except that each of the editors has better credentials than is indicated by the inadequacies of this book. The author is clearly uninformed.

It would require writing a new book or rewriting this one to correct all the wrong impressions it gives, for on almost every page is a statement that demands clarification. The following are only a few examples:

Ptolemy II commissioned a Greek translation of the OT (pp. 6, 92).

Alexander went to the Far East in order to spread the Hellenistic spirit (p. 48).

The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha bear evidence of being more Hellenistic than Jewish (p. 54).

Rome granted citizenship to the people she conquered (p. 63, but cf. p. 74).

Judaism was the only religion to survive the strong influence of Greek ways (p. 73).

The trial of Jesus was about A.D. 32 (p. 82, but cf. p. 31).

Jewish leaders established synagogues in response to the threat of compromise (p. 87).

The Sadducees adopted the beliefs of the Greek philosopher Epicurus (p. 97).

Historians have discovered the census that Luke described (p. 115).

The disciples must have been teenagers when they responded to Christ's call (p. 135).

In addition to the above, almost no documentation is provided, ancient sources are used uncritically, needless repetition abounds, typographical errors are common (God did not call Abraham in 200 B.C. [p. 1]), and more than one-half of the book is a condensed version of the narrative of the Gospels and Acts.

In place of this problematic book, *Harper's World of the New Testament* by Edwin Yamauchi (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1981) is recommended.

D. BRENT SANDY

Commentary on Galatians, by F. F. Bruce. New International Greek Testament Commentary. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982. Pp. 305. Cloth. $15.95.

F. F. Bruce has established himself in the minds of many as the outstanding evangelical NT scholar of our generation. This reviewer well remembers the first time he consulted Bruce's commentary on the Greek text of Acts nearly thirty years ago. A deep respect was born for the care and thoroughness of his research and for his obvious commitment to the divine source of Scripture, and Bruce's NT commentaries have continued to be a rich mine for exegetical study. F. F. Bruce is Emeritus Professor at the University of Manchester (England), where until 1978 he was the John Rylands Professor of Biblical Criticism and Exegesis.

Most of the introductory material in this volume appeared earlier as four lectures in the *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library* at Manchester during 1969–73. It is a great convenience to the student to have this material in collected form.

As is well known to those acquainted with Bruce's writings, he holds to the view that the readers were from South Galatia. Those favoring North Galatia argue that Galatians belongs to the Romans-Corinthians period of Paul's writing; Bruce answers this argument by noting that the whole span of Paul's literary effort is only about twelve years—hardly sufficient to construct a rigid pattern of his thought development (p. 46).

Bruce has not changed his view that Galatians was most probably written on the eve of the Council of Jerusalem. This would make it the earliest extant letter of Paul. Furthermore, Bruce seems to give credence to the idea that it could be the earliest extant Christian document (p. 56). He does not discuss, however, why it should be viewed as earlier than the Epistle of James.

Apparently the author has changed his mind about the identity of the "certain people" of 2:12. In his earlier writings on Acts, he seemed to identify them with the "some from Judea" in Acts 15:1. Now, however, he connects them with the false brethren of 2:4 (p. 130).

Among the interesting interpretations to be found are the following. He acknowledges that Paul did not use ἕτερος and ἄλλος in rigidly distinct ways (see 2 Cor 11:4 for a good example), but thinks that the conventional distinction is warranted in 1:6 (pp. 80–81). He also suggests that all who saw the risen Christ were "apostles," including the five hundred (1 Cor 15:6). He uses this to account for a wider use of the term "apostle," while at the same time recognizing a special commissioning by the risen Lord (pp. 94–95).

Bruce thinks that Paul's visit to Arabia was not contemplative but evangelistic. At least he must have done something publicly to attract the attention of the Nabateans (p. 96). He does not criticize the various views of the 430 years (3:17), but merely states the different renderings in the MT and LXX texts (p. 173). In commenting on 6:5, "for each person will carry his own load," Bruce states: "This is another common maxim, applicable to a wide variety of situations. Here the connective γάρ suggests that Paul applies it to the situation with which v 4 deals: one's responsibility before God. In the 'day of Christ' Paul would not be asked how his achievement compared with Peter's: his καύχημα would be the quality of those who had been won for

Christ through his own ministry (Phil 2:16). At that tribunal 'each of us will give an account of himself to God' (Rom 14:12; cf. 2 Cor 5:10)," (pp. 262–63).

I cannot agree with every interpretation suggested by the author. On 1:10, Bruce says that the answer to the question, "Is it human beings or God that I am trying to persuade now?" should be "Human beings." He argues that persuading God was a concept foreign to Paul's mind (pp. 84–85). Nevertheless, the next portion of the verse makes such an interpretation most unlikely. It seems much better to explain the question as meaning, "Am I now trying to get approval of men or God," to which the answer is clearly "God."

Another instance where Bruce leaves a delicate issue with less specificity than could be wished is his dealing with male and female roles in 3:28. He states, "If in ordinary life existence in Christ is manifested openly in church fellowship, then, if a Gentile may exercise spiritual leadership in church as freely as a Jew, or a slave as freely as a citizen, why not a woman as freely as a man?" (p. 190). Again, "Paul states the basic principle here; if restrictions on it are elsewhere in the Pauline corpus as in 1 Cor. 14:34f. . . . or 1 Tim. 2:11f., they are to be understood in relation to Gal. 3:28, and not *vice versa*" (p. 190). In the opinion of this reviewer, the principle enunciated in Galatians in no way contradicts the numerous passages elsewhere which clearly differentiate authority roles in the local church.

Galatians is one of the pivotal books of the NT. It has been carefully studied for centuries. Yet each generation must grapple with its message if its truth is to mold us as it should. Bruce's volume is a worthy contribution to the literature on the subject and will take its place as a standard source book for this generation of Bible students.

HOMER A. KENT

Paul the Apostle: The Triumph of God in Life and Thought, by J. Christiaan Beker. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1980. Pp. 452. $22.95.

Beker's work on Paul's epistles and his theology is a landmark publication in contemporary Pauline studies. Beker, Professor of New Testament at Princeton, is a recognized Pauline scholar and this work marks his own shift from pursuing Paul's sources in intellectual and religious Hellenism to that of Palestinian Judaism. *Contra* Bultmann and the Bultmannian school, he understands Paul primarily on the basis of Jewish and rabbinical sources.

Beker seeks to establish the center of Pauline theology in the realm of his apocalyptic world-view combined with his Christophany, that is his encounter with the risen Christ on the road to Damascus. This places the resurrection at the center of Pauline thought, and his treatment of this subject is one of the highlights of the book. His critique of Bultmann's treatment of the cross and resurrection, maintaining that these are "two distinct historical events that neither can be fused or separated" (see p. 194), is extremely insightful.

Beker limits the Pauline corpus to the seven books of Paul traditionally accepted by liberals as authentic; in my opinion, this greatly distracts from the overall richness of Pauline theology. In addition to this weakness, it has

been pointed out by several others that Beker fails to see the apocalyptic
dimension of Galatians. While many will not accept some of Beker's conclu-
sions, his work is a significant contribution to Pauline studies and especially
welcomed by those seeking a Pauline "center" (Käsemann = justification by
faith; Martin = reconciliation; Gaffin = resurrection). Beker cautions us, how-
ever, that it is futile to search for a center in a single word or phrase. When
we speak of a center, we must realize that we are seeking a "framework or
driving force in Paul."

The strengths of the work are many. In addition to helping move Pauline
studies away from the Bultmann-dominated realm of the past half century,
Beker wrestles with development in Pauline thought and concludes, to my
(partial) satisfaction, that it is contextual in nature. This, as opposed to modi-
fication in Pauline thinking, especially when it is understood radically and
not just in a sense of maturation, is a very positive step.

Another important element in Beker's work is his ability to define salva-
tion in Paul in corporate as well as individual terms. Of course, if one accepts
Ephesians as Pauline, as I do, then Eph 2:11ff. is a wonderful picture of the
corporate nature of salvation as well.

The book is divided into four major sections: (1) An introduction to
Paul and the character of his thought; (2) the contingency of the gospel as
explained through the contextual theology of Romans and Galatians; (3) the
coherence of the gospel as explained through the concepts of apocalyptic
theology and the resurrection of Christ; and (4) a concluding summary of the
triumph of God in Paul's writings. There is little question that this work will
become a major volume in Pauline studies and that it will find its way into
many classes of Pauline theology as a primary or secondary textbook. It is
heartily recommended, especially for those seeking to grapple with the idea of
"the center" in Pauline theology.

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Reconciliation: A Study of Paul's Theology, by Ralph P. Martin. New Foun-
dations Theological Library. Atlanta: John Knox, 1981. Pp. 262. Paper.
$11.95.

John Knox Press has assembled a fine array of scholars to write the
various works in their New Foundations Theological Library, edited by Peter
Toon. The most recent contribution in this series is the work by Ralph Mar-
tin, *Reconciliation*.

The book is an attempt to locate the center of Pauline thought by locat-
ing an idea or term capable of uniting in its scope the diverse expressions of
NT theology which is able "to provide a synthetic formulation of the Christian
message that will be true to as much of the New Testament data as a human
construction can frame." The basis of this work began in a series of articles
published in the *Expository Times* in 1979 and 1980.

Martin seems aware of some of the dangers involved in this type of work, most notably the tendency to force an idea or framework onto Paul's thought in an artificial manner. While seemingly aware of this possibility, Martin does not avoid the pitfall. His work is a marvelous picture of exegesis and exegetical method, but his conclusions are questionable (as compared with J. C. Beker's; see my review of *Paul the Apostle*).

Martin rejects Ephesians as Pauline, which is unfortunate for the defense of his case. Basically Martin works with 2 Cor 5:18–21; Col 1:15–20, and Rom 5:1–11, and considers Eph 2:12–19 from a deutero-Pauline perspective. For all of Martin's breadth of research and insight in biblical and theological method as well as the fine treatment of the term "reconciliation" (the author's main point is to demonstrate that reconciliation is the center of Pauline thought), his conclusion is unsatisfactory.

The strength of Martin's work is that it does bring to the forefront a new understanding and importance of reconciliation in Paul's theology. Martin contends that the text reflects Paul's use and reworking of pre-Pauline traditions so that thus constructed in the Pauline explanations of the term, they become the basis of the fullest sense of Paul's gospel as proclaimed to the Gentiles.

It is difficult to see how Martin could attempt to make reconciliation the thematic center for Paul when there are so few occurrences of the idea in Paul's writings. For instance, it is obvious to most that the central aspect of Rom 5:1–11 is justification and not reconciliation. If anything, reconciliation, in this text at least, is a subpoint in Paul's overall discussion. That being the case, it would seem that justification is a more appropriate center. This illustration alone points up some of the shortcomings of attempting to provide a framework or center for the broad and complex theology of the apostle to the Gentiles. This does not mean that such a pursuit is not useful, but is an appropriate warning against arbitrary and artificial impositions on the Pauline writings or the NT in general for that matter. While this review has been critical of Martin's attempt, the book is still worthwhile reading and is a significant contribution to contemporary Pauline studies. The work is valuable for reading if for no other reason than providing a model in exegetical method and theological trajectory.

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The Letter to the Hebrews, by Donald Guthrie. Tyndale New Testament Commentaries. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1983. Pp. 281. $4.95. Paper.

Recently, replacement volumes in the Tyndale New Testament Commentary series have appeared, updating its scholarship. This work by a competent, British scholar is one such volume. The Tyndale commentaries provide a verse-by-verse analysis designed for any diligent student of the Bible. Like others in the series, this commentary is not technical; technical matters are generally restricted to the extensive introduction or to the sparce footnotes. A

knowledge of Greek is unnecessary to use this work, but Greek words are transliterated and incorporated where helpful to the discussion.

Guthrie's 50-page introduction does justice to the background matters, considering the conciseness of the entire volume. Though the topics are discussed in the light of current, critical scholarship, the author adheres to traditional views concerning purpose, date, and authorship. Regarding authorship, Guthrie follows the consensus of NT scholarship which rejects Pauline authorship. His aim is to demonstrate the unacceptability of Pauline authorship and to present other meaningful possibilities.

Without making overly dogmatic statements involving Heb 6:4–6, Guthrie presents the common views but gives preference to the idea that this is a hypothetical situation. On p. 145 he writes:

> The writer appears to be reflecting on a hypothetical case, although in the nature of the whole argument it must be supposed that it was a real possibility. The intention is clearly not to give a dissertation on the nature of grace, but to give a warning in the strongest possible terms. The whole passage is viewed from the side of man's responsibilities and must accordingly be regarded as limited.

His comments on Heb 6:9 (pp. 146–47) further demonstrate his views (cf. also pp. 219–20).

Guthrie has not sought to be original in his interpretation. The book's strength lies in its clear analysis of the text and its summarization of other interpretations. Dollar for dollar, no set of commentaries surpasses the value of the Tyndale series; this latest volume deserves the same praise.

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Christian Theology, Vol. I, by Millard J. Erickson. Grand Rapids: Baker, 1983. Pp. 477. $19.95.

For many years the trilogy, *Readings in Christian Theology*, edited by Millard Erickson, has been standard reading at many evangelical colleges and seminaries in order to expose the student to a variety of viewpoints related to different issues in the field of theology. Now Erickson, Professor of Theology at Bethel Seminary, has completed the first of a projected three-volume set in systematic theology. It is current and orthodox, comprehensive, yet readable. It is a volume (and hopefully a set) that will belong in the personal library of every evangelical pastor, teacher, and student. We can only trust that Erickson will be able to finish the remaining two volumes with the same degree of excellence.

The introductory section deals with the relation of theology to philosophy, biblical criticism, and current language and semantic studies. He also includes a section on a definition of theology and the simultaneous need and problem involved in contemporizing or contextualizing theology for our day. In this he opts for restating the classical themes of systematic theology without becoming overly creative so as not to overstep biblical revelation. He understands the difference between doctrine and theology and recognizes the need of permanence.

Part Two concerns God and his revelation. He opts for the terms "universal revelation" and "particular revelation" instead of general and specific revelation, although he does use the terms synonymously. The discussion of general revelation and personal responsibility is very helpful. He opts for a "both/and" answer to the question of personal or propositional revelation. There is a helpful survey of the different approaches to inspiration, and he maintains that verbal inspiration is the consistent position. This is followed by an outline of various approaches to inerrancy and authority. He shows that evangelicals generally fall into three camps: absolute inerrancy, full inerrancy, or limited inerrancy. He distinguishes himself from Lindsell (absolute) and Fuller (limited) and opts with Nicole for "full" inerrancy, which he believes takes into account the phenomenological language of Scripture more consistently than does "absolute" inerrancy. However, his view of full inerrancy may not sufficiently express all necessary nuances articulated by the 1978 Chicago Statement. Chapter 11 on biblical authority is outstanding.

The next section discusses the person of God: "What is God like?" He chooses majesty as "center" when dealing with the attributes. He suggests that this, rather than "glory," is a more appropriate way of describing God's greatness. His discussion of the categories of greatness and goodness are generally satisfying, depending on how one views the wrath of God in terms of his attributes. The discussion of the Trinity is helpful reading, with good illustrations and sermonic material.

Section Four probably contains the discussions which will be most sensitive in evangelical circles (although the definition of inerrancy will be controversial in some places). The chapter which discusses God's plan (traditionally under the topic of decrees) is very helpful in distinguishing viewpoints. Erickson opts for a moderately Calvinistic model that will probably be satisfying to most. His effort to correlate human freedom and sovereignty is certainly valiant, even if unsatisfying for some. I found it very helpful indeed.

The chapter on "God's Originating Work: Creation" finds Erickson opting for a day-age theory. He believes that the Hebrew word "day" can mean a period or long period of time, though he offers no evidence for this in the context of Genesis 1. There is a discussion of ברא which differs from some previously-held positions in conservative circles. He rejects the flood theory on the one hand (although he is apparently unaware of such works as Whitcomb and Morris, *The Genesis Flood*, 1961), and macroevolutionism on the other. This position will be unsettling for many, as it is for this reviewer, although it is very widely held in American evangelicalism.

The discussion of the problem of evil, God's providence, and the work of angels, the devil, and demons is very complete. The discussion on the problem of evil will help many a struggling student, not to mention some professors. Without question, the author is well acquainted with the territory.

Erickson's volume is a welcome addition to the field of systematic theology. It is neither faddist nor overly innovative. It is biblical and classical in its treatment of the major issues. It provides a good survey of the historical material without being cumbersome. The volume is certainly worth the price. Every student will find this *must* reading.

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Recent Homiletical Thought: An Annotated Bibliography. Volume 2: 1966–1979, ed. by A. Duane Litfin and Haddon W. Robinson. Grand Rapids: Baker, 1983. Pp. 249. $16.95.

Anyone interested in preaching and in learning about preaching can find reason for joy in this volume. Although the book's editors say that "bibliographies have all the excitement of a telephone directory," we all know how valuable a telephone directory can be when needed. In a similar way, this bibliography will provide valuable assistance to those doing research in the field of homiletics.

In many ways, the present volume is patterned after William Toohey and William Thompson, *Recent Homiletical Thought: A Bibliography, 1935–1965* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1967). The book's topical arrangements are in three sections: (1) books, entries 1–238, (2) periodical articles, entries 239–1609, and (3) theses and dissertations, entries 1610–1898.

These three sections are then subdivided under various headings where the individual entries are given: general works, preaching and theology, topics of preaching, the preacher, the congregation, the setting—liturgical, the setting —special occasions, the sermon, delivery, history—individual preachers, history—groups, history—periods, history—theory, bibliography, and teaching.

The Book section was compiled with the aid of eighteen Th.M. students from Dallas Theological Seminary. The authors have included volumes published prior to 1966 if they were reprinted after 1966. In so doing, they also give the entry number of the book if Toohey and Thompson listed it (e.g., nos. 19, 47, 60). Occasionally, however, books which Toohey and Thompson omitted, and which have since been reprinted, have also been included. This provides a helpful supplement to the former volume (e.g., nos. 11, 25, 95). There are two weaknesses in the Book section. One is that occasionally a book has no annotation at all; only the title is given (e.g., nos. 10, 73, 92, 100). Another is that occasionally the annotations are not very descriptive. This is especially noticeable when certain entries are compared to entries for the same book in Cyril Barber's *The Minister's Library* (e.g., nos. 4, 22, 33, 53, 68).

The Articles section is the longest part of the book, listing 1371 separate titles. It is more comprehensive than the title of the book indicates, since in several cases articles from prior to 1966 are included. The main reason for this is that while Toohey and Thompson only indexed 36 periodicals, Litfin and Robinson have included 100 periodicals. Pertinent articles which appeared in periodicals not included by Toohey and Thompson were included in this volume even if they were published prior to 1966. This is a definite asset to the researcher (e.g., nos. 242, 243, 245, 258). Some weaknesses also exist in this section. As in the Book section, the annotations are uneven. In many cases no annotation is included at all (e.g., nos. 289, 324, 699, 1322, 1399), in other instances the annotations are quite helpful (e.g., nos. 1429, 689, 1175), and in yet other cases the annotations are merely repetitious of the article's title (e.g., nos. 495, 1151). A further weakness is that the subdivision on "General Works" is too wide in scope and should have been further subdivided for more clarity.

The Theses and Dissertations section has no annotations at all. However, references are given to *Dissertation Abstracts*, where appropriate, so that the researcher can investigate that reference work. Due to the specialized nature of theses and dissertations and their lack of easy availability, this is probably adequate for the purpose of this volume. This section is especially intriguing since it demonstrates that scholarly research is continuing on the subject of preaching. However, as the editors observe, much of this "comes from the ubiquitous Doctor of Ministry programs," and they wonder "what, if anything, it ever can or will amount to."

An appendix, listing each of the 100 periodicals indexed, along with their addresses, is helpful to the researcher who desires to obtain certain articles but cannot do so at local libraries. Indexes of authors and personal subjects (i.e., persons who are the subjects of articles) also add to the volume's usefulness.

The editors' preface must be read carefully to appreciate this volume in its totality. In it they give their approach to the book and also some of their reactions to the literature compiled. One reaction is especially worth noting: "We are impressed—in fact overwhelmed—by the expectations writers place on preachers. No mere human could possibly fulfill the conglomeration of demands set forth in this literature. To say the least, the expectations are unrealistic."

Two additional items would have been helpful to me. First, a complete topical subject index to the volume would make its content even more accessible to the researcher. Second, some type of marking to indicate which entries are especially significant and which would be profitable for a preacher to have in his possession would add to this volume's practicality.

Merely investing in this volume will not make anyone a better preacher. However, using this volume as an aid to finding those sources which can stimulate, educate, and motivate should prove a benefit in more effectively ministering God's Word.

R. LARRY OVERSTREET

Your Marriage Has Real Possibilities: Biblical Principles of Marriage, by Cyril J. and Aldyth A. Barber. Grand Rapids: Kregel, 1981. Pp. 165. $6.95. Paper.

You Can Have a Happy Marriage: Biblical Principles for a Mutually Satisfying and Rewarding Relationship, by Cyril J. and Aldyth A. Barber. Grand Rapids: Kregel, 1984. Pp. 191. $6.95. Paper.

The Barbers have given us a thoroughly biblical look at the marriage relationship in a style conducive to personal/couple devotional study or use by a group. They present Bible couples as models to emulate or avoid, including interaction questions to stimulate thought and discussion. Readers expecting the topical how-to approach found in many volumes on marriage will be surprised by this deeper, principle-oriented treatment. The authors

stress that their books are not substitutes for reading the biblical passages; indeed, the relevant Scripture references are listed at the head of each chapter to encourage preparatory perusal.

Each book presents its couples in the order in which they appear in the Bible (with the exception of Solomon and his Shulamite bride). *Your Marriage Has Real Possibilities* examines the patriarchs and their wives. *You Can Have a Happy Marriage* includes familiar Priscilla and Aquila, Joseph and Mary, Ruth and Boaz, but also couples less frequently considered: Hosea and Gomer, Esther and Xerxes, Claudia and Pilate.

The Barbers have avoided a parade of unrelated character studies by consistently focusing on three concepts (derived from Gen 2:24) that they consider essential to a successful marriage: maturity, unity, and sexual compatibility. *Your Marriage Has Real Possibilities* lays a foundation for personal wholeness and maturity and expands to family life and child rearing. *You Can Have a Happy Marriage* is primarily concerned with the relationship of the couple. The interaction questions in the sequel seem more personal and less generalized than those in the earlier book. Answers pertaining to an understanding of the biblical passage and its principles can be found in the books themselves or in the Bible, but the couple or group must draw upon its own resources to answer the practical application questions. Such phrases as "in what practical ways" and "brainstorm" are common.

These two books reflect the professional career of Cyril Barber. One sees the blend of Barber the theological scholar (careful exposition, introduction and explanation of Hebrew terms, description of the cultural context); Barber the counselor and professor of psychology (cases, personal contacts, psychological and sociological "findings"); and Barber the librarian (extensive bibliographical and scholarly notes and recommended books for further study). Intellectual integrity is demonstrated by not glossing over interpretive problems (e.g., the *nephilim* in Genesis 6) but referring the reader to other scholars' works to avoid digressing.

The Barbers are theologically conservative, but they are aware of contemporary issues such as the working wife and the feminist movement. Arguments of the women liberationists are addressed, but Barber does not zero in on whether submission in the marriage role justifies the denial by men of equal authority and equal resources to women in spheres outside of marriage. Wifely submission is constantly affirmed, even in cases of doubtful propriety (e.g., Sarah and Rebekah passed off as sisters rather than wives). Abigail seems a poor choice for illustrating submission, but it is through her that the Barbers most directly attack the feminist viewpoint. She is lauded for presenting gifts to David even though that act is contrary to Nabal's expressed intent not to compensate David and his men. Should a wife do what is in her husband's best interest in spite of his statement to do otherwise? The Barbers praise Abigail for her after-the-fact disclosure to Nabal as "recognition of the headship of her husband" (p. 89). Is this really submission to his authority or did she take matters into her own hands? Abigail is described as having the "independence of thought and deed" (p. 87) that feminists say the principle of submission denies them. Is Abigail the proper example to use in refuting the feminist argument?

Few authors can claim that their works have been scientifically proven to result in improvement in the lives of couples. Dr. Barber used these character studies in an adult Sunday school setting with a control group and verifiable tests to meet requirements for his doctoral studies in marriage and family ministries. The value of this approach to marriage enrichment is more than his subjective opinion. It is rare for a book on marriage to combine popular appeal with such careful scholarship and exposition. The Barbers are to be congratulated.

PAULA IBACH
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BOOKS RECEIVED

ADENEY, MIRIAM. *God's Foreign Policy*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1984. Pp. 140. $6.95.

A Guide to Christian Colleges. Christian College Coalition. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1984. Pp. 160. $8.95. Paper.

AHMANSON, JOHN. *Secret History*. Chicago: Moody, 1984. Pp. 179. $9.95.

ALDRICH, JOSEPH C. *Satisfaction*. Portland: Multnomah, 1983. Pp. 24. $1.50. Paper.

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